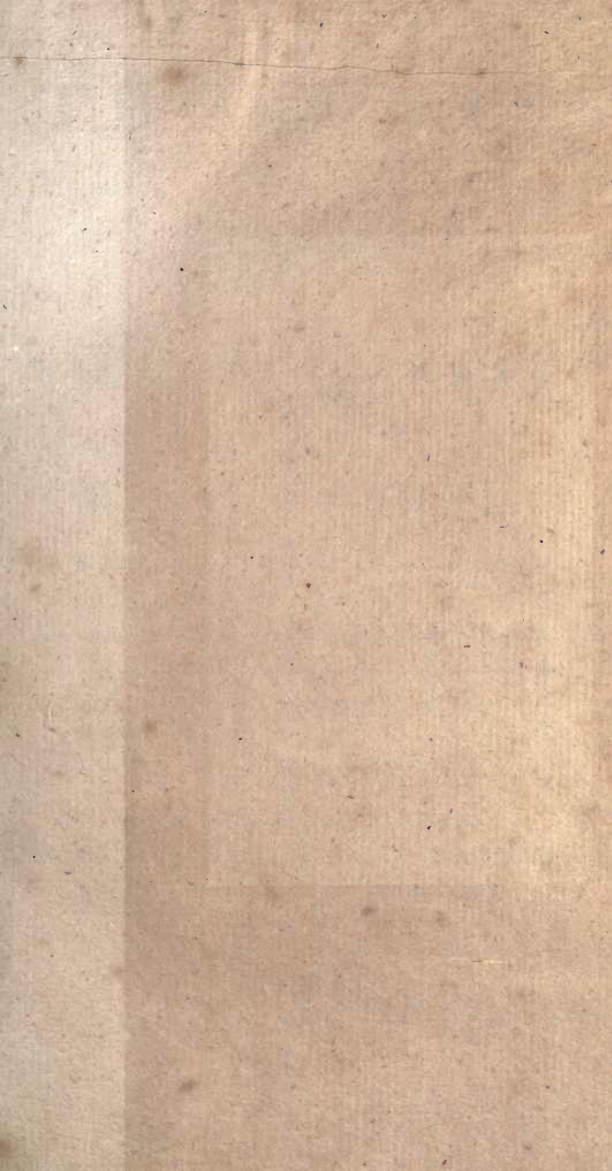


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THOUGHTS
ON
CIVIL LIBERTY,
ON
LICENTIOUSNESS,
AND
FACTION.

By the AUTHOR of
ESSAYS on the CHARACTERISTICS, &c.

— Sed in Vitium Libertas excidit, et Vim
Dignam Lege regi. —

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THOUGHTS

ON

CIVIL LIBERTY

OF

LIBERTY

AND

FACILITY

By the Author of
"Essays on the Characteristics, &c."

— Set in William Lloyd's edition of the
"Essays on the Characteristics, &c."

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THOUGHTS

O N

CIVIL LIBERTY, &c.

S E C T I O N I.

The D E S I G N.

THERE are two Causes, essentially distinct, though often interwoven, by which a free State may perish. These are, *external* and *internal* Violence: *Invasions* from Abroad, or *Dissentions* at Home: The Rage of foreign *War*, or domestic *Faction*.

After a dangerous and exhausting War, Victory hath at length restored Peace to our bleeding Country. But in vain the

B

Sword

Sword of War is sheathed, if in Time of Peace the Poignard of *Licentiousness* and *Faction* is drawn, and madly level'd by many of our Countrymen, at the Breasts of their Fellow-Subjects.

To prevent the fatal Consequences of this deluded or deluding Spirit, is the Purpose of this Essay : In which the Writer will endeavour to trace the present State of Things to its general Foundations : By pointing out the real Basis and genuine Characteristics of true Liberty ; by unmasking the Pretences, and laying open the secret *Sources* and distinctive *Marks* of *Licentiousness* and *Faction*.

As the political Principles here laid down and enforced, will be found strictly connected with Religion and Morals ; no Apology will be made for endeavouring to establish the public Happiness of Mankind on the solid Basis of *Virtue*, which is the *End of Religion itself*.—In this Point the Writer confirms himself on the Authority of an excellent and learned Prelate, whose
political

political Researches were of like Tendency.
 “ As the Sum of human Happiness is sup-
 “ posed to consist in the Goods of Mind,
 “ Body, and Fortune, I would fain make
 “ my Studies of some Use to Mankind,
 “ with Regard to each of these three Par-
 “ ticulars ; and hope it will not be thought
 “ faulty or indecent in any Man, of what
 “ Profession soever, to offer his Mite to-
 “ wards improving the *Manners* (I will
 “ add, the *Religion*) *Health*, and *Prospe-*
 “ *riety* of his Fellow-Creatures.*”

S E C T. II.

Of the Nature of Civil Liberty.

TO some it will doubtless appear a
 superfluous Labour, to fix the true
 Idea of *civil Liberty*, in a Country which
 boasts itself *free*.

* Dr. Berkley's Misc, p. 118.

Yet the Writer esteems it a necessary though obvious Task: Not only that he may appeal to his Idea of it, thus established; but also, because in the *Conduct* (at least) if not in the *Writings* of his Countrymen, it seems to have been sometimes mistaken.

The *natural Liberty* of Man, considered merely as a solitary and savage Individual, would generally lead him to a full and unbounded Prosecution of all his Appetites. Some Savages there are, though few, who live nearly, if not altogether, in this *brutal State of Nature*.

These last Expressions, it must be confessed, are inadequate to their Subject: For such a State of Man is worse than that of Brutes, and in the strict Sense, is also *contrary to Nature*. For Brutes are endowed with unerring Instincts, which Man possesseth not: Therefore such a solitary and wretched State is strictly *unnatural*; because it prevents the Exertion of those Powers, which his *Nature* is *capable of attaining*:

taining: But those *Powers Society* alone can *call forth* into *Action*.

Man is therefore formed for *Society*: That is, Man is formed for Intercourse with Man: Hence, through the natural Development of the human Powers, a Variety of new *Wants*, a Necessity for mutual *Aids* and distinct *Properties*, must arise: From these, a new *Accession*, as well as a frequent *Disagreement* and *Clashing* of *Desires* must inevitably ensue. Hence the Necessity of *curbing* and *fixing* the *Desires* of Man in the social State; by such *equal Laws*, as may compel the *Appetites* of each *Individual* to yield to the *common Good* of all.

From this salutary *Restraint*, *civil Liberty* is derived. Every natural Desire which might in any Respect be inconsistent with the general Weal, is given up as a voluntary Tax, paid for the higher, more lasting, and more important *Benefits*, which we reap from *social Life*.

S E C T. III.

Of Licentiousness and Faction.

FROM the Nature of civil Liberty, thus delineated, the Nature of *Licentiousness* will easily be fixed: Being indeed no other than “Every Desire carry’d into Action, which in any Respect violates those equal Laws, established for the common Benefit of the Whole.”

Thus, an *unlimited Indulgence* of Appetite, which in the *savage State* is called *natural Liberty*, in the *social State* is stiled *Licentiousness*.

And *Licentiousness*, when its immediate Object is That of “thwarting the Ends of civil Liberty,” is distinguished by the Name of *Faction*.

S E C T. IV.

*Unassisted Laws no permanent Foundation
of Civil Liberty.*

THESE Remarks are obvious; and clear to every Man possessed of the common Degrees of Understanding. Let us now consider, “What are the *permanent Foundations* of civil Liberty:” That is, in other Words, “What are the effectual Means by which every Member of Society may be uniformly sway’d, impelled, or induced, to sacrifice his private Desires or Appetites, to the Welfare of the Public.”—This is a Subject, which deserves a particular Elucidation, because in our own Country, and our own Times, it seems to have been *much* and *dangerously* mistaken.

It hath been affirmed as a first Principle by certain Writers, and hath been artfully or weakly suggested by others, “that the
“ coercive

“ coercive Power of human Laws is sufficient to sustain itself: That the Legislator
“ or Magistrate hath properly no Concern
“ with the private Opinions, Sentiments,
“ or Operations of the Mind: And that
“ *Actions* alone fall under the legal Cognizance of those in Power.”

The Author of the *Fable of the Bees* hath boldly laid down this; which, as a ruling Principle, pervades his whole Work. He professes himself the Friend of Liberty: He derides private Virtue, as the Offspring of Flattery, begotten upon Pride: He discards Religion, as a political Fable; he treats the Principle of Honour, as an empty Chimera; he recommends private Vices as public Benefits;* and having thus level'd the whole Fabric of *Manners* and *Principles*; what, do you think, is the grand Arcanum of his Policy, for the Prevention of such Crimes as would indanger the Grandeur and Stability of the State? Why;—“ fe-

* *Fable of the Bees*, passim.

“ vere

“ vere Laws, rugged Officers, Pillories,
 “ Whipping-Posts, Jails, and Gibbets.”*

This Principle, of the Sufficiency of human Laws to sustain their own Efficacy and Power, without Regard to the Opinions or Principles of Men, hath been, at least, indirectly held forth by other Writers.

An Author, who although a *sincere*, was certainly an *imprudent* Friend of Liberty, speaks in the following ambiguous Stile; which, if not designed to impress the Principle here called in Question, is at least very liable to be interpreted into it. “ It is foolish to say, that Govern-
 “ ment is concerned to meddle with the
 “ *private Thoughts* and Actions of Men,
 “ while they injure neither the Society, nor
 “ any of its Members. Every Man is in
 “ Nature and Reason, the *Judge* and *Dis-*
 “ *poser* of his own *domestic Affairs*; and
 “ according to the *Rules of Religion*, and

* Essay on Charity Schools.

“ *Equity*, every Man must carry *his own*
“ *Conscience*: So that neither has the Magi-
“ strate a Right to *direct* the *private Be-*
“ *haviour* of Men; nor has the Magistrate,
“ or any Body else, any Manner of Power
“ to *model* People’s *Speculations*, no more
“ than their *Dreams*. Government being
“ intended to *protect* Men from the *Injuries*
“ of one another, and not to direct them
“ in *their own Affairs*; in which *no one*
“ *is interested but themselves*, it is plain,
“ that their *Thoughts* and *domestic Concerns*
“ are *exempted* entirely from its Jurisdic-
“ tion: In Truth, Men’s *Thoughts* are
“ not subject to *their own Jurisdiction*.”
—“ *Let People alone*, and they will take
“ *Care of themselves*, and do it best: And
“ if they do not, a sufficient *Punishment*
“ will follow their *Neglect*, without the
“ *Magistrate’s Interposition* and *Penalties*.
“ It is plain, that such busy Care and offi-
“ cious *Intrusion* into the *personal Affairs*, or
“ *private Actions*, *Thoughts*, and *Imagina-*
“ *tions* of Men, has in it more Craft than
“ Kind-

“ *Kindness* :—To quarrel with any Man for
 “ his *Opinions*, *Humours*, or the Fashion of
 “ his Cloaths, is an *Offence* taken without
 “ being given.” —“ True and impartial Li-
 “ berty is therefore the Right of every
 “ Man, to pursue the *natural*, *reasonable*,
 “ and *religious* Dictates of his own Mind:
 “ To think what he will, and act as he
 “ thinks, provided he acts not to the Pre-
 “ judice of another.”*

These Expressions are crude, inaccurate, and ambiguous; leaving the thoughtful Reader at a Loss for the Author's precise and determined Meaning. For, first, they may possibly imply, “ that the Magistrate
 “ hath no Right to violate the Laws of
 “ what is commonly called *religious Tole-
 “ ration* or *christian Liberty*; but that every
 “ Man hath an unalienable Right to wor-
 “ ship God in that *Manner* which accords
 “ to the Dictates of his own Conscience.” —
 In this Sense they are rational and true:

* *Cato's Letters*, No. 62.

And to this Truth the Writer hath more than once born public Testimony.*

But, secondly, they may imply, “ that
“ Thoughts, Speculations, Opinions, Prin-
“ ciples, however received and imbibed by
“ the Mind of Man, have no Connexion
“ with his Actions ; at most, no Con-
“ nexion so necessary and strong as to give
“ the Magistrate a Right to *regulate* them
“ by *any Means* whatever. That no Di-
“ rection is to be given either to the
“ *grown* or the *infant Mind* ; that as every
“ Member of Society hath a Right to hold
“ what Opinions and Principles he plea-
“ seth, so he hath the same Privilege to
“ communicate them to his *Family* and
“ *Children* : That they are to think what
“ they will, because Thoughts and Opi-
“ nions are a private and personal Affair :
“ That the Magistrate is only concerned
“ to regulate their Actions.”

* See Vol. of Sermons, Sermon 4, 5, 12.

This is not only a possible Interpretation, but in all Appearance, the more natural of the two. For it is not here once suggested by this Author, that *Opinions* have any *Influence* on *Actions*; but rather, that they concern *nobody* but *Him* who *holds* them. 'Tis true, he speaks of them as being *reasonable*, and *religious*: But if they be the mere Result of private and fortuitous Thought, unaided by the Regulations of civil Policy, I see not why they may not more probably be *unreasonable* and *irreligious*: Because they are more likely to be model'd by *ruling Appetites* than *rational Deduction*.

At the same Time, it is but Justice to this Author to say, that he certainly meant not (like the Author of the *Fable of the Bees*) to discard all *moral* Principles as groundless and chimerical; whatever his Intentions were with Regard to *Religion*. But his Expressions are *ambiguous*, and have been laid hold of by Men of the most libertine Opinions: Therefore in
what-

whatever Sense they were *written*, it is necessary to oppose them, in that Sense in which they have been *received*.

And farther, this is certain: That the Principle implied in this second Interpretation hath passed into a general Maxim in this Kingdom, among those who pique themselves on *unlimited Freedom of Thought*. These Men have long and openly derided every *Regulation of Opinion and Principle*; have discarded all *moral and religious Instruction*, under the despised Idea, of *Prejudice of Education*; have laid it down as their fundamental Maxim, “that you are
“to think what you will: Only to act honestly.” Not attending to that essential Connexion which subsists between *Thoughts, Opinions, Principles, and Actions*.

Doubtless, any Society of Men, aiming at the Establishment of civil Liberty, have a Right to unite themselves on what Conditions they please. But it is the Purpose of this Essay, to prove, by Reasonings confirmed by Facts, that a free Community

nity built on the Maxims above delivered, cannot be of *long Duration*: That the mere *coercive Power* of *human Laws* is not sufficient to *sustain itself*: That there is a strong and unalterable *Connexion* between *Opinions* and *Actions*: That a certain *Regulation* of Principles is necessary to check the selfish Passions of Man; and prevent *Liberty* from degenerating into *Licentiousness*: And that “a certain System of Manners and Principles, mutually supporting each other, and pervading the whole Community, are the only permanent Foundation on which true civil Liberty can arise.”

The natural Appetites, Passions, and Desires of Man, are the universal Fountain of his Actions: Without the Impulse which he receives from *those*, he would be at once unfeeling and inactive. Consequently, according to the State and Character of his Desires, his Actions will *naturally* be good or evil; innocent, useful, or destructive.

Were

Were these Desires universally coincident with the Welfare and Happiness of others, no coercive Power would be wanting, as the Means of producing and securing perfect Liberty.

But the acknowledged Necessity of penal Laws affords an incontestable Proof, that the *unbridled Desires* of Man are utterly inconsistent with the Welfare and Happiness of his Fellow Creatures.

Whatever Means, therefore, are most effectual in curbing and *subduing* the selfish *Desires* of Man, are the most effectual Means of *regulating* his *Actions*, and establishing civil Liberty on its most permanent Foundations.

The mere coercive Power of human Laws, without an assistant Regulation of the Passions and Desires, is utterly inadequate to the great Ends either of *private* Happiness or *public* Liberty.

It cannot produce *private* Happiness to the Individual, because while it leaves his Mind open to be *infested* by every *unruly* *Passion*

Passion that may arise, it *forbids* him the *Gratification*: Thus it sets the distracted Soul at Variance with itself. The best Consequence that can be hoped for, is a continued Conflict of *Fear* and *Appetite*; of a *Dread* of human *Laws*, warring with inordinate and *selfish Passions*.

It cannot be a *permanent* Foundation of public Liberty; because while the Passions are thus left without an inward Controul, they will often be too strong for *Fear*, even where a legal Punishment is the certain Consequence: For as they are suffered to subsist in their full Vigour, and when kindled in the Soul are blind and headlong, they will often carry away the whole Man; will bear him down in their Gratification, even to unavoidable Destruction.

Still farther, and chiefly: Human Power cannot penetrate the secret Recesses of the Soul, nor reach the dark Intentions of the Heart of Man, nor always be of Weight to combat the Strength of Individuals:

viduals : Hence *Cunning* will often *evade*, and *Force* will often *defy*, the coercive Power of the best-formed Laws. Thus *public Wisdom* must give Way to *private Gratification*, the *Innocent* must become a *Prey* to the *Guilty* ; that is, in other Words, *Liberty* must be *destroyed*, and *Licentiousness* must *triumph*.

S E C T. V.

Virtuous Manners and Principles the only permanent Foundation of civil Liberty.

WHAT, then, are the *permanent Foundations*, on which perfect Liberty can arise?—I answer, it can only arise on the Power of such a System of *Manners and Principles* effectually impressed on the human Mind, as may be an *inward Curb* to every inordinate Desire ; or rather, such as may so frame and model the human Heart, that its ruling Desires
may

may correspond, coincide, or coalesce, with all the great and essential Appointments of public Law.

The Nature of Man admits of this Improvement, though not in a perfect, yet in a considerable Degree. He is born with Appetites suited to his own Preservation, and the Continuance of his Species: Beyond this, he is by Nature at once *selfish* and *social*; *compassionate* and *resentful*; *docile*, either to *Good* or *Evil*; and hence, capable of acquiring *new Habits*, new Passions, new Desires, either to the *Welfare* or *Destruction* of his Fellow-Creatures.

Virtuous Manners I call such acquired Habits of Thought and correspondent Action, as lead to a steady Prosecution of the general Welfare.

Virtuous Principles I call such as tend to confirm these Habits, by superinducing the Idea of *Duty*.

Virtuous Manners are a permanent Foundation for civil Liberty, because they

lead the Passions and Desires themselves to coincide with the Appointments of public Law. The infant Mind is pregnant with a Variety of Passions : But it is in the Power of those who are intrusted with the Education of Youth, in a considerable Degree, to determine the Bent of the nascent Passions ; to fix them on salutary Objects, or let them loose to such as are pernicious or destructive.

Here, then, lie the first Foundations of civil Liberty : In forming the Habits of the youthful Heart, to a Coincidence with the general Welfare : In checking every rising Appetite that is contrary to This, and in forwarding every Passion that may promote the Happiness of the Community : In implanting and improving Benevolence, Self-Controul, Humility, Integrity, and Truth ; in preventing or suppressing the contrary Habits of Selfishness, Intemperance, Pride, Dishonesty, and Falsehood : In teaching the young Mind to *delight*, as far as is possible, in every

every Virtue for its own Sake: In a Word, in so forming the Pleasures and Displeasures of the opening Heart, that they may coalesce and harmonize with the Laws of public Freedom.

Above all, *This* will give Stability to civil Liberty, if the social Passions of Individuals can be so far extended, as to include the Welfare of the *whole* Community, as their *chief* and *primary* Object. This Affection is distinguished by the Name of *public Spirit*, or the *Love* of our *Country*; the highest Passion that can sway the human Heart, considered as a permanent Foundation of true Liberty.

But in some Minds the selfish Passions are strong, and the social ones weak or wanting: And in the best formed Heart incidental Temptations may arise, and overturn its pre-established Habits: Therefore it is a necessary Measure for the Security of private Virtue and public Freedom, that *virtuous Principles* be likewise implanted in the Heart. Such Principles,
I mean,

I mean, as may *strengthen* the good Habits of Thought and Action already contracted, by superinducing the Idea of *Duty*.

Of these there are but three, which can sway the Manners of Men, and confirm the Foundation of civil Liberty. These are Religion, Honour, and natural Conscience. The first has the Deity for its Object; the second, the Applause of Men; the third, the Approbation of our own Heart. The Frame and Situation of Man admits of no other *Principle*, from whence the Idea of *Duty* can arise.

The Principle of *Religion* tends to this End of confirming civil Liberty, as it induces the Idea of *Duty*; and urges the Performance of it, on the Belief of a just, omnipotent, and all-seeing God; who approves and condemns, will reward or punish, according as our Thoughts and Actions are Good or Evil.

But, as the Means of rendering *Religion*, a firm *Ally* and *Support of Liberty*,
it

it is necessary that their *Dictates* should be *coincident*: That is, that the Thoughts and Actions which Religion prescribes as Duties, and forbids as Sins, should coincide with the Dictates and Appointments of public Law. In free Countries, this is the natural State of Religion; which commonly either bends to the established Laws of the Community, or moulds them into its own Genius and Complexion.

The Principle of *Honour* affords a concomitant Support of civil Liberty, when properly directed. It works by a powerful and universal Passion, “our Fondness “for the Applause of Men:” But in free Countries, this Principle is much more liable to abuse than that of Religion: Because it is apt to be warped by the fashionable and ruling Manners of the Times: For whatever is fashionable is apt to draw Respect and Applause: Whatever is unfashionable is for the present intitled only to Contempt. Hence the Principle of *Honour* becomes *fluctuating* and *uncertain*

tain in its Nature, and therefore in its *Effects*: A *Regulation* of this Principle, therefore, is of the most important Consequence; because, if left to its own fantastic Dictates, it will often *endanger* instead of *strengthening* the Foundations of public Freedom.

The third Principle, that of natural *Conscience*, which tends to confirm the Establishment of Liberty, is founded in the Approbation of our own Heart. This Principle is in one Respect independent on the other two, but in another Respect seems to stand intimately related to them. It is independent of them, as it neither looks out for the Approbation of God, nor the Applause of Men: It seems intimately related to them, because on a strict Examination of the human Frame, as well as the History of Mankind, it appears generally to be the Result of the *one*, or *other*, or *both*. We transplant the acknowledged *Approbation* of *Heaven* and the *Applause* of *Men* into our own *Heart*;
and

and from this, through the fertile Power of *Association*, springs a new Principle of *Self-Approbation* and *Self-Reproof*, as an additional *Regulator* of our Thoughts and Actions.

'Tis true, many Writers have resolved the *particular* Dictates of natural Conscience into an *unchangeable* Principle of Right and Wrong, arising universally in the human Heart. There is no Doubt, but the *general* Principle of Self-Approbation or Self-Rebuke ariseth in an *universal* Manner, in some Degree or other: But as it appears from the History of human Nature, that the *particular* Dictates of this Conscience *vary* with the other received Principles of the Mind, it is not necessary to debate or dwell on this speculative Point: We may take it as a Truth confirmed by Facts, that the *particular* Dictates of natural Conscience will generally be founded on those of *Religion* and *Honour*.

E

Hence,

Hence, then, it appears, that this Principle of Conscience stands in Need of a *Guide*, in the same Degree as those Principles on which it is founded. If it be founded on the *Religion* of a free State, it will generally *coincide* with the Principles of *Freedom*: If its Foundations are laid in the mere Principle of *Honour*, its Dictates will be *fantastic* as those of its Parent; and will therefore require a parallel *Regulation*.

Each of these Principles, singly taken, is of Power, in *some* Degree or other, to strengthen the Basis of civil Liberty: On their *united* Influence, added to the Force of pre-established Habits of Thought and Manners, public Freedom might seem to arise on immoveable and everlasting Foundations.

But as the Nature of Man, even in his most virtuous State, is *imperfect* and *inconsistent*; so, in Spite of the most salutary Institutions, some *Defects* will intrude. Hence, from an unavoidable Alloy of
Vice,

Vice, civil Liberty must ever be *imperfect*: A certain Degree of Licentiousness (that is, of private Will, opposing the Public) will always mix itself, and in some Degree contaminate the Purity of every Commonwealth.

Yet, while virtuous Manners and Principles clearly predominate in their Effects, a State may still be justly called *free*.

But in Proportion as these Manners and Principles decay, and their Contraries rise into Power and Action, public Freedom must necessarily decline. For in that Case, the Passions and Powers of the human Mind are all set in Conspiracy against the Dictates of public Law. Hence unbridled Passions will have their Course; every Man's Heart and Hand will be set against his Brethren; and the general Cement of Society, which bound all together, being thus dissolved; even without any external Violence offered, the Commonwealth through its *internal Corruption* must fall in Pieces.

S E C T. VI.

An Objection considered.

DOubtlefs, it will be objected (nay, it *hath* been objected) by the Patrons of unlimited Freedom of Thought, that This is indeed a System of *Slavery*; that it is building civil Liberty on the *Servitude* of the *Mind*, and shackling the infant Soul with *early Prejudice*.

In Answer to this plausible Objection, the Writer replies (what he hath elsewhere advanced*) “ That a Prejudice doth
“ not imply, as is generally supposed, the
“ Falseness of the Opinion instilled, but
“ only that it is taken up, and held,
“ without its proper Evidence. Thus
“ the infant Mind may be prejudiced in
“ Favour of *Truth* as well as *Falseness*;
“ and neither can the one or the other,
“ thus instilled, be properly called more
“ than an *Opinion*.”

* Sermons on Education, &c., p. 62, &c.

Farther:

Farther: The infant Mind cannot remain in a State of Indifference and Inaction, either with Regard to Habits of Conduct, or Principles and Opinions. Habits, Impressions, Beliefs, Principles, of one Kind or other, the growing Mind will inevitably contract, from its Communication with Mankind: If therefore rational Habits and Principles be not infused, in order to preclude Absurdities; it is Odds, but Absurdities will get the Start, and preclude all rational Habits and Opinions. The Passions and the Reason of a Child will put themselves in Action, however wretched and inconsistent; in the same Manner, as his Limbs will make an Effort towards *walking*, however awkward and absurd. The same Objection, therefore, that lies against instilling salutary Habits and Principles, will arise against teaching him to *walk erect*: This being indeed a Violation of the natural *Freedom* of the *Body*, as the other is of the natural *Liberty* of the Passions and the

the *Mind*. The Consequences, too, are of the same Nature: For sure, a Child left to the Direction of his own Appetites and Reason would stand the same Chance to grovel in Absurdities, as to crawl on Hands and Knees, and wallow in the Mire.

Neither is there any Difference, with Respect to the real and internal Freedom of the Mind, between *Opinions instilled*, and *Opinions caught by Accident*. For in Truth, the Mind cannot be *compelled* to receive any Habit of Thought, Principle, or Opinion. These may indeed be offered to the infant Mind, but the Reception of them is its own voluntary Act; and is equally so, whether they be presented by fortuitous Incidents, or designed Instruction. All the Difference is, that in the first Case such a System of Habits and Opinions will certainly arise, as tend to the Destruction of Society: In the second, such a System of Habits and Opinions may be infused into the free Mind, as
will

will lay a fure and lasting Foundation of public Liberty and Happinefs.

Nay, if any Difference could arife, with Refpect to the true *Freedom* of the *Mind*; furely, *That Mind* ought, in the Eye of Reason, to be adjudged *moft free*, which adopts a System of Thought and Action, founded on the *Wisdom* of the agreeing *Society*; rather than *That* which is fuffered to be incurably tainted with the *vague* and *random* Conceptions of *untutor'd Infancy*.—This, at leaft, is confo-
nant with the old Stoic Principle, that
“The wife Man alone is free.*”

Much hath been faid in our Times, indeed, concerning the Force of *unaffifted* human *Reason*: The Writer would not willingly either flatter or degrade its Powers. But to Him it appears, that they are superficially informed of the Frame and Tenor of the human Mind, who think that *mere Reason* (as it exists in Man) is more than a Power of dif-

* Solus Sapiens liber.

cerning and chusing the *propereſt Means* for obtaining his *deſired Ends*, whether theſe Ends be *Good* or *Evil*. The Paſſions, pre-eſtabliſhed Habits, and infused Principles of the Soul are the univerſal Motives to human Action. Where theſe point not to an *End deſired*, Reaſon may indolently exerciſe its Eye; but can never find nor create an Object, of Force ſufficient to put the Powers of the Soul and Body in Motion. Hence, human Reaſon muſt always receive its particular Caſt and Colour from the pre-eſtabliſhed Paſſions, Habits, and Principles; will ever form its ruling Ideas of Good and Evil, Right and Wrong, Juſt and Unjuſt, from theſe great Fountains of human Action.

The Hiſtory of human Nature confirms this Truth: Hence it is, that this boasteſt human Reaſon is indeed ſo poor and unprofitable a Poſſeſſion; being warped and moulded into that particular Form, which the varying Accidents of Climate, Soil, eſtabliſhed Manners, Religion, Policy,

Policy, bodily Frame, or prevailing Passions and Principles, chance to give it.

Hence, then, it appears, that the private Freedom of the infant Mind is not *violated* but only *directed* to its *best End*, by early and salutary Instruction. Hence it appears to be the proper Destination of Man, that he shall not be left to the Follies of his own weak Understanding and nascent Passions ; that he shall not be left *fortuitously* to imbibe the Maxims of corrupt Times and Manners ; Maxims which, setting aside all Regard to their speculative Truth or Falsehood, do lead to the Dissolution of Law and Freedom : But that he shall be conducted voluntarily to adopt those Habits and Principles, which have been consecrated by the Approbation of the best and wisest Men, in every Age and Nation ; such, in particular, as are suitable to the Laws, the Customs, the Genius, of his own free Country ; such, in a Word, as are a *secure Foundation* of *public Liberty*.

S E C T. VII.

*A Confirmation of these Principles, drawn
from the History of free States.*

1st. Of Sparta.

THESE Reasonings, founded on the Nature and Constitution of Man, will receive a strong and unanswerable Confirmation from the History of free States. Hence we shall obtain the clearest Evidences of Fact, that while virtuous Manners and Principles retained their Efficacy and Power, civil Liberty remained unshaken: That as these decayed, Liberty declined: That as soon as these were lost, Liberty was no more; Licentiousness crept in; Faction triumphed; and overwhelmed these degenerate States in one common Ruin.

To this Purpose I shall briefly analyze the Genius of the three most eminent

Re-

Republics that are recorded in Story: Those of SPARTA, ATHENS, and ROME. The Events are sufficiently known to those who are conversant in ancient History: But the fundamental and leading *Causes* of these Events deserve a particular Investigation: They will form a concurrent Proof of the Principles here given.

The Republic of SPARTA claims the first Place; both on Account of its Antiquity, and Perfection. By its Perfection is meant, not the moral Perfection of its *particular Institutions*, but of the *Means* and *Principles* by which *These* Institutions were secured.

The leading Institutions which LYCURGUS fixed as the Essence of his Commonwealth, were these which follow.

1. He established a Senate of *twenty-eight*, as an *intermediate Power* between that of *Prince* and *People*. . . 2. He made an equal Partition of Lands and Goods, among the free Members of the Community. . . 3. He introduced the Use of Iron Money, instead of Gold and Silver. . . 4. He banished or

prevented all the Arts of Commerce, Elegance, and Luxury... 5. He ordained, that all the Members of the Society should eat together, and partake alike of the same coarse Fare... 6. He established an occasional Community of Wives: So that a Wife was not so much the Property of her Husband, as of the Republic, to the End of Population... 7. With a parallel View, he ordained a Kind of Community of Children: By This, no Father had the Care of his own Child; which, on its Birth, was immediately delivered over to the Officers of the State; and was either preserved or destroyed according to their Decree... 8. A continued Attention to the Preservation of the State, and an unremitted Preparation and Readiness for defensive War, formed the chief Employment of the *Spartan* State... 9. He committed the Cultivation of their Lands to a large Body of Slaves, who dwelt in the surrounding Country, were deprived of all the natural Rights
of

of Men, and were often laid in Wait for, and butchered in cold Blood by the young Men of SPARTA.*

These were the public and essential Institutions of the Spartan Republic: Many of them strange in their Nature: Yet formed for long Duration, through the Means and Principles on which they were established: Which we shall find to be consistent with, and corroborative of the Principles of civil Liberty above laid down.

The first and best Security of civil Liberty, hath been shewn to consist “in impressing the infant Mind with such Habits of Thought and Action, as may correspond with and promote the Ap- pointments of public Law.”—This Security was laid by LYCURGUS, in the

* This Enormity, practised with Impunity by the young Men of Sparta, hath been held unaccountable: But seems to have been allowed on the same warlike Principle with That other Allowance “of stealing Victuals.” Both were probably established as the Means of preparing them for the Exercise of *Stratagem* in War.

deepest

deepest and most effectual Manner, by the Mode of *Education* which he prescribed to the *Spartan* Youth.

No Father had a Right to educate his Children according to the Caprice of his own Fancy. They were delivered to public Officers, who initiated them early in the Manners, the Maxims, the Exercises, the Toils, in a Word, in all the mental and bodily Acquirements and Habits, which *corresponded* with the *Genius* of the *State*. Family Connexions had no Place: The first and leading Object of their Affection, was the general Welfare. This Tuition was carefully continued, till they were enrolled in the List of *Men*: To secure the Manners thus acquired, they were prohibited from travelling into other Countries, lest they should catch Infection from ill Example: On the same Foundation, all Visits from Strangers were forbidden.* Thus were they strongly and

* Plutarch : in *Lycurgo*.

unalterably possessed with the *Love* of their *Country*.

These severe Manners were confirmed by all the Principles that could strengthen them in the Mind of Man.

The Principle of *Religion* laid at the very Foundation of the State: For LYCURGUS expressly modeled his Commonwealth on the Pretence of a divine Authority. He declared to the People, that its essential Institutions were given him by the Oracle of DELPHI, which he went on Purpose to consult.* Again, after he had modeled his Republic, he repaired once more to the sacred Tripod; and enquired, “whether the God approved of “the Laws he had established.” The Answer was in the Affirmative: And this Reply LYCURGUS sent to SPARTA.†

This Principle was so intimately blended with that of the State, that their *Kings* were at the same Time the *High Priests* of the Community.‡—The Reli-

* Plutarch: in *Lycurgo*. † *Ib.* ‡ *Ib.*

gion and Power of an Oath was so strongly impressed on their Minds, that LYCURGUS trusted the future Execution of his Laws, to *That* Oath which the People took, on his last Departure from the City :*—An Oath, which proves, that the Religion of the Country was not at Variance with the Appointments of the State; because it obliged them never to depart from the Institutions of LYCURGUS.

The Principle of *Honour* was not at Variance, but *co-operated* with and *sustained* That of *Religion*. PLUTARCH is very particular, on their early and continued Encouragement of this Principle. Their Songs (which made a Part of their Education) tended to inflame their Minds with honest Ambition. “ Their Subject
“ was generally the *Praise* of such Men
“ as had dy’d in Defence of their Coun-
“ try ; or in *Derision* of Those who had
“ shrunk from the public Service. The
“ *old* Men talked high of what they had

* Plutarch: in Lycurgo.

“done: The *younger* Part echo'd back
 “their Song; declaring their Resolution,
 “not to disgrace the Valour of their
 “Forefathers.*”

The Principle of natural *Conscience* was so intimately interwoven with those of their *Religion* and *Honour*, that it affords a striking Proof how far natural Conscience depends on these other Principles. If natural Conscience were in itself a well-regulated and *sufficient Guide*; could any Thing have been more odious to its Dictates, than *Prostitution, Adultery, Thieving, and Assassination*? Yet all these did the severe *Spartans* practise, not only *without Remorse*, but with *Self-Approbation*; the infant Mind being before-hand modeled to this *preposterous* System of *imagined Duty*. For, on the very ruling Principles of the State, their Daughters were debauched, their Wives were common, their Victuals were stolen, their Slaves were murdered.†

* Plutarch: in *Lycurgo*. † *Ib*.

Thus was the famed Republic of *Sparta* strongly fortify'd, by the united and concurrent Power of *Manners* and *Principles*, all pointing to the *same* End, the *Strength* and *Duration* of the *State*: Of *Manners* and *Principles*, which in their particular Application, seemed to sacrifice the Happiness of Individuals to the Preservation of the Whole: And while they were most *abhorrent* from the Maxims of *improved* human Nature, *secured* the Institutions of a *savage* Policy.

From this View of the *Spartan* Commonwealth, these farther Remarks may naturally arise.

1. It hath been Matter of Surprise to those who have written on this famed Republic, “ by what Means LYCURGUS “ should be able to perswade the *Spartans*, not only to change the Form of “ their Government, but to quit their private Possessions, their Manner of Life, “ the Use of Money, the Advantages of “ Commerce, the Property of their Wives, “ the

“ the Care of their Children ; and adopt
 “ a contrary System, so abhorrent from
 “ the Desires of civilized Man.” And in-
 deed, supposing the *Fact*, it should seem
 a Paradox utterly unaccountable.—The
 true Solution seems of a quite different
 Nature.—PLUTARCH leads me to it.—
 “ There is so much Uncertainty (saith he)
 “ in the Accounts which Historians have
 “ left us of LYCURGUS, that scarce any
 “ Thing is asserted by one, which is not
 “ contradicted by others. Their Senti-
 “ ments are quite different as to the Fa-
 “ mily he came of, the Voyages he un-
 “ dertook, the Place and Manner of his
 “ Death: But most of all, when they speak
 “ of the Laws he made, and the Common-
 “ wealth he founded.—They cannot be
 “ brought to agree, as to the very *Age*
 “ when he lived.—TIMÆUS conjectures,
 “ that there were two of his Name, and in
 “ different Times ; but that the one being
 “ more famous than the other, Men gave
 “ to Him the Glory of both their Ex-
 F 2 “ ploits.”

“ ploit.* ”—Hence it appears, that the true History of this Lawgiver was lost in the Darkneſs of fabulous and obſcure Ages : And that, as to the Beginnings of this Commonwealth, we have nothing to depend on, but the traditionary Rumours of a barbarous and lying Period. Now this ſeems to be fairly weighed down by the internal Evidence ariſing from the Nature of the Eſtabliſhment itſelf. For it was indeed “ the Eſtabliſhment of barbarous Manners, carried into Permanency by political Inſtitutions.” That Mankind ſhould be *carry’d back* to *This*, from a State of *Humanity* and *Civilization*;—that they ſhould quit private Property, Money, Commerce, Decency, domeſtic Comforts, Wives and Children, and give them up to the Poſſeſſion of the Public, is a Contradiſtion to all the known Powers and Paſſions of the human Mind. To effect a *Change* of *Government only*, is a Work ſufficient for the Abilities of

* Plutarch: in *Lycurgo*.

the greatest Legislator: But to overturn all the pre-established Habits of the Head and Heart, to destroy or reverse all the fixed Associations, Maxims, Manners, and Principles, of a whole civilized Community; were a Labour, which might well be ranked among the most extravagant Legends of fabulous GREECE.

On the other Hand, to *bring forward* a Tribe of untaught Savages *one Degree* towards *Civilization*, and *there* to *fix* them;—to assign equal Portions of Land to those among whom Lands laid in Common;—to introduce Iron Money, where *no Money* had been in Use;—to prohibit Commerce, where Commerce was almost unknown;—to make the Girls dance naked in Public, where they had never known the decent Use of Cloaths;—to allow of Theft and Homicide under certain Limitations, where *Both* had been practised without Limitation;—to make Wives at Times a public Property, where promiscuous Concubinage had prevailed;

to

to give Children a public Education, where no Education had taken Place;—These might all seem the natural and practicable Efforts of a *Pagan* Legislator.

Thus, the Formation of the *Spartan* Republic seems clearly accounted for. A Tribe of untaught Savages, were brought forward by LYCURGUS one Degree towards Civilization and Humanity, and There fixed by severe Institutions.

The Fate of AGIS, their patriot King, confirms this Solution. He, with a Degree of public Virtue seldom seen in any Station, attempted to bring back the corrupt State to its first rigorous Institutions. But That which LYCURGUS could establish among untaught Savages, AGIS found impracticable, among a corrupted People. He was seized, imprisoned, and murdered by a Faction, in his Attempt to restore Freedom to a degenerate Republic.

2. If the Argument here alledged be just, concerning the first Institution of this
Re-

Republic; it follows (what, indeed, seems probable in its own Nature) that the strongest political Institutions may be formed on the savage State of Man. In this Period the Legislator hath few or no prior Institutions to contend with; and therefore can form a System of Legislation consistent with itself in all its Parts. While the Lawgiver who reforms a State already modeled and corrupted, must content himself with such partial Regulations, as the Force of prior Establishments and public Habits will admit.

3. The long united State of this Republic afford a Proof against a political Maxim commonly received, "That Divisions are necessary to a free State; and that inward Tranquillity is a certain Symptom of its approaching Ruin." For, from the History of SPARTA, it appears, that during the Space of at least five hundred Years, intestine Divisions were unknown. This common and mistaken Maxim (adopted by almost all political

tical Writers*) hath been founded on a Supposition, that where Opinion is *free*, it must ever be *divided*. The *Spartan* Commonwealth presents a clear Proof of the Reverse: That Opinion may be *free*, yet still *united*. But this *free Union* can only be the happy Effect of an early and rigorous Education; by which the growing Minds of the Community are voluntarily led, by public Institutions, into *one common Channel of Habit, Principle, and Action*. . . PLUTARCH tells us, that the Effect of this entire Union was so conspicuous in SPARTA, that “the Commonwealth resembled *one* great and powerful Person, *actuated by one Soul*, rather than a State composed of *many* Individuals.†”

4. It appears, that the Institutions of the *Spartan* Republic were admirably calculated for each other's Support, while

* Among others, by MACHIAVEL and MONTESQUIEU. † In Lycurgo.

their

their perfect Union was maintained: And further, that when an Inroad was made into any one of them, the Ruin of the Whole was inevitable.

“Its Institutions were admirably calculated for each other’s Support, while their perfect Union was maintained.” Because they tended strongly to prevent the *first Inroads of Temptation* to the Mind, the very *first Impulses of selfish Passion*. The equal Partition of Lands and Goods took away all Hope of Superiority in Wealth: The Introduction of Iron Money rendered Wealth cumbersome and untractable: The Prohibition of Commerce prevented the Materials of Luxury: The Banishment of elegant Arts prevented the first Conception of them. Their public Meals eaten in common, cut off the Hope, nay, prevented the Desire of all private Indulgence of the Palate, the Disorders of Intemperance. To secure these rigid Institutions, the public Education of their Children was ordained, lest private Pas-

sion should mix its Alloy, with the rigorous Appointments of the State. Thus the Republic was so round and compact in all its Parts, that it might seem to defy the Attacks of the most powerful Enemy.

“ But supposing an Inroad made into
“ any one of its capital Institutions, the
“ Ruin of the Whole was inevitable.” For its several Parts receiving their Strength from each other, were therefore mutually *dependent* ; and the Whole being an austere Contradiction to the natural Appetites of Man, the least Inroad of Indulgence naturally led on to more forcible Temptations. Thus, *Inequality* of Possessions brought in *Wealth* and *Poverty*. *Wealth* brought in *Luxury* : *Poverty* gave Birth to *Envy* and *Avarice*. Licentiousness and Faction thus crept in ; and the Fall of SPARTA was *inevitable*.

Yet even amidst the *Decays* of this Republic, the Force of a rigorous Education essentially mixed with the Principles of
the

the State, was still conspicuous. The Power of Manners and Maxims thus imbibed was so untractable, even in the declining Periods of the *Spartan* Commonwealth, that PHILOPÆMEN, after many fruitless Attempts to annihilate its Influence, declared, “that the only effectual
 “Method of destroying SPARTA, must
 “be in *dissolving* the *Education* of their
 “*Youth*.*”

This Analysis is clearly confirmed by PLUTARCH in the following Passages.
 “Since we may blame the Legislators of
 “common Rank, who, through Want of
 “Power or Wisdom, commit Mistakes in
 “the Formation of fundamental Laws;
 “how much more may we censure the
 “Conduct of NUMA, who for the Reputation of his Wisdom only, being called
 “by the general Voice of an unsettled
 “People to be their King, did not in
 “first Place constitute Laws for the Education of Children, and Discipline of

* Plutarch: in Philopæm.

“ Youth? For Want of which, Men be-
 “ come seditious and turbulent, and live
 “ not peaceable in their Families and
 “ Tribes: But when they are inured from
 “ their Cradle to good Principles, and im-
 “ bibe from their Infancy the Rules of
 “ Morality, they receive such Impressions
 “ of Virtue, as convinces them of that
 “ Advantage which mutual Concord brings
 “ to a Commonwealth. This, with many
 “ others, was one of the Policies of LY-
 “ CURGUS: And was of singular Force
 “ in the Confirmation and Establishment
 “ of his Laws:”—“ Hence the *Spartans*
 “ having sucked in these Principles with
 “ their Milk, were possessed with a ‘most
 “ reverend Esteem of all his Institutions:
 “ So that the Fundamentals of his Laws
 “ continued in Force for above five hun-
 “ dred Years, without any Violation.*”

Such then was the Force of concurrent
 Manners and Principles, all centering on
 one Point, impressed on the infant Mind,

* Comparison of NUMA and LYCURGUS.

and continued by a Variety of rigorous Institutions.—Thus, the Strength of the *Spartan* Republic, like the firm-compacted Weight of the *Macedonian Phalanx*, bore down every opposing Power.

S E C T. VIII.

Of the Republic of Athens.

WE have seen the Force of Manners Principles in the strong Formation, the *Unanimity*, and *Continuance* of the *Spartan* State. We shall now see the Effects of the *Want* of Manners and Principles, in the weak Establishment, the unceasing *Factions*, and early *Dissolution* of the Commonwealth of ATHENS.

It appears above, that LYCURGUS, probably forming his People in the first and earliest Period of Civilization, was thus enabled to establish a perfect Republic. SOLON, on the contrary, having a *corrupted*,

rupted People to *reform*, could only institute such a Kind of Government, as their *pre-establiſhed* Habits, Vices, and Forms of Polity could admit.

Here we discover the Foundation of that striking Remark of SOLON himself. "That he gave not the *Athenians* the *beſt* "Laws that could be *given*, but the *beſt* "they were *capable of receiving*.*"

The first and ruling Defect in the Institution of this Republic ſeems to have been "the total Want of an eſtabliſhed "Education, ſuited to the Genius of the "State." There appears not to have been any public, regular, or preſcribed Appointment of this Kind, beyond what Cuſtom had accidentally introduced. 'Tis true, that the Parents often had Maſters to inſtruct their Children in the *gymnaſtic* Arts, and in *Muſic*. Which laſt, in the ancient Acceptation of the Word, included *Poem* as well as *Melody*: 'Tis farther true, that the Poems thus taught

* Plut. Solon.

their Children, included often the great Actions, but withal, the Vices of Gods and ancient Heroes.* Yet in this first and ruling Circumstance, in the Institution of a free State, the Parents were much at Liberty, to do as seemed good to them. Hence, a dissimilar and discordant System of Manners and Principles took Place; while some youthful Minds were imbibed with proper and *virtuous* Principles, some with *no* Principles, and some with *vicious* Principles; with such as must, therefore, on the Whole, tend to shake the Foundations of true Freedom.

The second ruling Defect in the Constitution of this Republic, was the Establishment of an unmixed and absolute Democracy. This naturally arose from the *licentious* State of *Manners* and *Principles*, which SOLON found already prevalent among the *People*. A *virtuous* People would have been content to have

* See a Dissertation on Music and Poetry, Sect. v.

shared the legislative Power with the higher Ranks of the Commonwealth. But a *licentious* People naturally grasped the Whole, as the likliest Means (in their deluded Eye) of gratifying their own unbridled Passions. From this partial Distribution of Power, the State was blindly ruled by the Dregs of the Community. For *All* who were of Ability to maintain a *Horse*, were admitted to the Rank of *Magistracy*.* And all who were *admitted* to the Rank of *Magistracy* were *excluded* from any Share in the *legislative Power*.† Hence it followed, that “All they who possessed the *Legislative Power*, were such as were *not* of *Ability* to maintain a *Horse*.”—“Do not you despise (said SOCRATES to his Pupil ALCIBIADES, who was afraid to speak in Presence of the *Athenian* People) do not you despise That *Cobler*? I do, reply’d the Youth. Do not you (rejoyned the Philosopher) equally condemn that *Cryer*, and yon

* Plut. in Solon.

† Ib.

“Tent-

“*Tent-Maker?* ALCIBIADES confessing that
 “he did; then said SOCRATES, “Is not
 “the Body of the *Athenian People* com-
 “posed of Men *like these?* And therefore,
 “when you *despise* the *Individuals*, why
 “should you fear the *Whole?*” — A hope-
 ful Tribe of *Legislators!* and such as might
 naturally be supposed to give Rise to that
 Licentiousness, Discord, and Ruin, in
 which they were soon swallowed up.

From this weak and imperfect Estab-
 lishment, founded on the Caprices of an
 ignorant, unprincipled, and *licentious Po-*
pulace, all the subsequent *Factions*, which
 ended in the *Ruin* of this *Republic*, are
 clearly derived.

Even SOLON, the original Legislator,
 outlived the Commonwealth he had form-
 ed. On his Departure from ATHENS,
Factions immediately arose. PISISTRA-
 TUS, the first ruling Demagogue, *led* the
People; obtained a Guard; seized the
 Castle; and *established* a *Tyranny*.†

* Æliani Var: Hist. L. ii. C. 1. † Plut: in Solon.

We need go no farther into the History of this Republic, for a Discovery of the Causes of its final Ruin. It is true, that an imperfect Semblance of Liberty often appeared, amidst the Factions of succeeding Times: It is true, that Wealth and Luxury contributed to hasten the Fall of ATHENS: It is true, that PERICLES and ALCIBIADES, in their Turn, while they seemed to polish the Manners, inflamed the Vices of the Populace; and led them on to the certain Destruction of the State. But for the Ruin of this Commonwealth, we need not have Recourse to the Inroads of Wealth or Luxury, as the Causes of its Dissolution. It resembled a beautiful *Edifice* founded in *Sand* and *Rubbish*: Where an *uneducated*, an *unprincipled*, a *licentious Populace*, ruled the State; That State was destined to the convulsive Struggles of *Faction* while it lived, and then to a *speedy Death*.

S E C T. IX.

Of the Commonwealth of Rome.

LET us now pass to a Review of the Commonwealth of ROME: In the History and Fate of which, we shall find most abundant Proof of the Truths here laid down, concerning the Power of Manners and Principles, in the Preservation or the Dissolution of public Freedom.

MONTESQUIEU remarks finely, in his Discourse on this Republic, that “more States have perished, thro’ a Violation of Manners, than thro’ a Violation of Laws*.” The Reason (though he does not assign it) appears evident on the Principles here given. He who violates established *Manners*, strikes at the general *Foundation*; he who violates *Law*, strikes only at a particular Part of the *Superstructure* of the State.

* Grandeur, &c.

In the Republic of SPARTA, we have seen the original State of Manners and Principles conspiring strongly to the *Preservation* of the Republic: In that of ATHENS, we have seen the original State of Manners and Principles tending no less clearly to its *Dissolution*.

In analysing the original State of Manners and Principles in the *Roman Commonwealth*, we shall find a different and *intermediate* State of Things; mixing the *Strength* of the *Spartan*, with the *Weakness* of the *Athenian* Institutions; tending first to *enlarge* and *aggrandize* the Republic, and in the End to *corrupt* and *destroy* it.

The Manners and Principles of early ROME, which tended to enlarge and aggrandize the Republic, were 1. A *Love* of their *Country* instilled into their rising Youth: Formed chiefly on the Power of *Custom*; and more particularly on the *warlike* Genius of the State. Their Annals abound with so many Instances of this grand Passion, that present Times stand amazed, and with Difficulty credit their Story. 2. This

2. This Passion, founded on an *early*, though *not* a *prescribed* Education, was so strengthened by their *religious* System, that till the fatal Entrance of the Doctrine of EPICURUS, no *Roman* was ever known to have violated his Oath.*

3. Their Principle of *Honour* coincided with that of their Religion. It was so strong, at the Time of the first Formation of the Republic, that the Punishment of *Disgrace* was judged sufficient to deter the People from a Violation of the Laws. “When
“ a Delinquent was cited before the People
“ (saith LIVY) the *Valerian* Law ordained
“ only, that he should be branded as *in-*
“ *famous*.†”

4. From the Truths laid down above, it appears, that the Principle of natural *Conscience* must of Course co-operate with these, for the Confirmation of civil Freedom. The Force of this Principle is no less conspicuous in the early Periods of

* See Montesq. Grand. des Rom. C. x. Polyb. L. 6.

† Liv. Hist. L. 10.

Roman Liberty : It arose even into a ferocious Pride of Virtue, independent of all outward Testimony, which hath distinguished the great Names of ancient ROME, from Those of every other People upon Earth.

5. To these we must add the *Equality* of Property, the *Mediocrity* of Possession, the *Simplicity* of Life, which prevailed in early ROME ; all these were the Outworks that guarded the internal Strength of Manners and Principles ; and seemed, like the Institutions of SPARTA, to promise an Eternity of Freedom.

But in Spite of all these Foundations, of civil Liberty, there were three fatal Circumstances, admitted into the very Essence of the Republic, which contained the *Seeds of certain Ruin* : While the *Tree* seemed to *flourish* in its full Growth and Vigour, *These*, like *Canker-Worms*, lay *eating* at the Root.

The first of these, was the Neglect of instituting public Laws, by which the
Edu-

Education of their Children might have been *ascertained*. This is justly charged by PLUTARCH, as a capital Defect in NUMA's Legislation:* This Defect, when once admitted into the Essence of the State, could not easily be rectify'd in succeeding Times: The Principle could only have been effectually infused, at the general Formation of the whole Mass. In Consequence of this Error in the first Concoction, the supporting Principles of Freedom were vague and fluctuating: For Want of this *preventing* Power, the incidental Vices of a Parent were naturally transmitted to his Children, and thence to future Ages. The rigorous Education of SPARTA was a strong Check to the Proneness of human Nature towards Degeneracy and Corruption: Through This, every incidental Vice dy'd with its first Possessor: While the more lax Institution of the *Roman* Republic, suffered every original Taint in Man-

* See above, Sect. vii.

ners and Principles to be transfused into, and to contaminate succeeding Times.

The second of these was “ Their Principle of *unlimited Conquest*.” Their early Passion for War arose from their *Necessities*. On their first Establishment, they had neither *Territory* nor *Commerce*: They lived by *Plunder*: Hence, the *ruling Genius* of the *State* was *warlike*: Their warlike Genius was *unchecked* by any other Principle: Hence, unremitted Exercises, unceasing Improvements in Discipline, increasing Valour and Ferocity arose. Thus they attempted to subdue, and thus they subdued the World.

But such an Empire is utterly *untenable*: *Valour* may *acquire*, but cannot *maintain* it. The *Body* of such a State is too enormous to be effectually animated by the *Soul*. This is a Cause of Ruin so clear, that it hath met every Writer’s Observation; and therefore needs no farther Proof.

The

The third Principle of inevitable Destruction, which seems to have been inwrought into the very Essence of the *Roman* Republic, was the fatal Principle of *Change*: This is a Cause not so obvious; and therefore may require a farther Investigation.

MONTESQUIEU hath justly observed, that one Cause of the *Roman Greatness* was “their *adopting* any Institution or Custom “of other Nations whom they conquer’d, “provided it was better than their own.*” It seems to have escaped the Observation of this great Writer, that the same Principle of *Adoption*, carried through every Period of the Republic, led the Way to its final *Ruin*.

For altho’ in the early Periods, when Manners were simple, and concurrent Principles were strong, this Spirit of *Adoption* was confined to Customs that were *better* than their own; yet in the succeeding Pe-

* Grandeur, &c. C. i. ii.

riods, when Manners grew more relaxed, and Principles were weakened, the same Spirit of *Adoption* opened a Door for the Admission of *Customs* that were *pernicious*.

Thus the Admission of *Change*, which in the virtuous Ages led to the *Greatness*, in succeeding Times brought on the *Destruction* of the Republic.

The sagacious Romans soon found the Consequences of this Defect: They saw, that through a Want of original, *preventive*, and salutary Institutions, bad Manners were creeping insensibly on the State. Hence the Creation of the *Censors* had its Rise: An Office, which immediately took Cognizance of the Manners of the *Citizens*.

But this high Office was ineffectual in its End; because it had not Power universally to *prevent*, but only in Part to *remedy* the Evil. Hence, while *particular* and *detected Offences* only, could be punished by the *Censor*, the *Hearts* and *Manners* of the People were laid open to a *general Corruption*,

ruption, from the fatal Principle of *Novelty* and *Adoption*.

The Danger arising from this Principle manifestly increased with the increasing Empire: That *Identity* and *Integrity* of Manners and Principles, which is the Soul and Security of every free State, gave Way to Manners and Principles wholly *diffimilar*. New Maxims of Life, new Principles of Religion and Irreligion, of Honour and Dishonour, of Right and Wrong, picked up indiscriminately among the Nations which they conquered, by Degrees infused themselves into the Heads and Hearts of the *Roman* Citizens.

Here, then, we see the original Foundation of all the Misery and Ruin which ensued. On the Conquest of the *luxurious, immoral, and unprincipled* Tribes of GREECE, the *Romans*, having no *preventive Remedy* in the Essence of their State, of Course adopted the *Luxury*, the *Immoralities*, the *Irreligion*, of the conquered People.

“It seems to me (says the excellent
 “MONTESQUIEU) that the *Epicurean*
 “Sect, which made its Way into ROME
 “towards the Close of the Republic, con-
 “tributed much to corrupt the Hearts of
 “the *Romans*. The *Greeks* had been in-
 “fatuated with it before them; accord-
 “ingly, they were sooner corrupt. Po-
 “LYBIUS tells us, that in His Time,
 “no *Greek* could be trusted, on the Se-
 “curity of his Oath; whereas, a *Roman*
 “was inevitably bound by it.*” — He
 adds, “CYNEAS having discoursed on
 “the *Epicurean* System at the Table of
 “PYRRHUS, FABRICIUS wished that all
 “the Enemies of ROME might hold the
 “*Principles of such a Sect.*†”

Thus, as in the early Periods of the
 Commonwealth, they had adopted the
Virtues, in the later Times they assumed
 the *Vices* of the conquered Nations. Thus,
 by unperceived Gradations, the same Prin-

* Grandeur, &c. C. x.

† Ib.

ciple, "The Admission of *Change*, first led
 "to the *Greatness*, and then to the *Ruin*
 "of the Republic."

All the particular Consequences that
 followed, were *occasional* and *inevitable*.
 The Rapacity, the Factions, the civil
 Wars; the enormous Profligacy of Indi-
 viduals, the horrible Calamities of the
 State;—All these are finely pursued by
 MONTESQUIEU; and were no more than
 the natural and incidental Effects of this
 general Cause, "The Loss of Manners
 "and Principles."

Hence, the *Progress* and *Retreat* of the
Roman Power resembled the *Flow* and the
Ebb of a vast Ocean; which, rowzed
 from its Bed by central Concussions, *over-*
whelmed and *forsook* the *Earth*.

S E C T. X.

How far these Facts can properly be apply'd to the political State of Great Britain.

THOUGH the Study of History be often instructive and useful, yet, in one Respect, it becomes the Source of frequent Error, even when it is written with Impartiality and Truth. This ariseth from a mistaken Application of historical Facts. Errors of this Kind are apt to creep into all Reasonings, on every Subject, where Men and Manners are concerned : But they are liable to infect *political* Reasonings, above all others.

As the political Interests of Men form the principal Subject of History, the Reasoner on this Subject hath Recourse to Facts, as the best Support of his Argument. Yet, the Politician seems, of all others, most liable to be mistaken in the Application of History to his own
Pur-

Purpose ; because the political Connexions and Interests of Men are, above all others, *complicated* and *various*.

Hence, as no two political Constitutions were ever the *same* in *all* their Circumstances, though *similar* in *many* ; so, all Arguments drawn from a *partial* Resemblance, must be inadequate and inconclusive ; unless when it appears, that no other Circumstances took Place, by which That *partial* Resemblance might be *counteracted*, and its Effects destroyed.

Yet, it hath been a Practice too common among political Reasoners, from a *partial* Resemblance between two States, to infer a *total* one ; and because they have been *like* in *some* Respects, to draw Conclusions, as if they had been *like* in *all*.

Much Caution, therefore, is necessary, in the Application of historical Facts : Without This, we shall run into perpetual Error. Let us, then, remark some of the most *essential* Circumstances, in which the Constitution of the *British* State differs

differs from those of SPARTA, ATHENS, and ROME; and then draw such Conclusions, as may be consistent with these Distinctions.

1. We may lay it down as a fundamental Truth generally acknowledged, that the *political* Constitution of GREAT BRITAIN, in its *main Outline*, is *better modeled* than those of SPARTA, ATHENS, or ROME. The legislative and executive Powers are more equally balanced, and more clearly distinguished. Now, if Laws could support themselves, it would follow, that this political State must *therefore* be of *longer Duration*. But as it hath been made appear, that the Duration of free States depends not so much on their mere *Form*, as on the *Manners* and *Principles* which support them; so, nothing can be decided concerning the *Duration* of the *British* State, from its mere *external Model*.

2. The *Christian* Religion, established in BRITAIN, is, in its own Nature, far
supe-

superior to that of these ancient Commonwealths. The absolute Perfection and glorious Attributes of the Deity; the great Principle of universal Charity; the particular Duties of Man to Man, thence resulting; the Sanctions of future Reward and Punishment; all these tend to purify and exalt the Soul, far beyond the Rites of ancient Paganism: For This, even in its best Forms, was ever built on the History and Examples of deify'd Men, whose Lives had often been blotted with the most flagrant Crimes; and therefore, could never exalt the Heart of Man, beyond this weak Principle of Elevation.— But as the *Power* of a *Religion* depends, not only on its *excellent Genius*, but on its being *effectually impressed* on the Mind; so, no Consequence can be justly drawn, from the mere *un-apply'd* Excellence of its Nature.

3. That *Self-Consistence*, and perfect *Unity* of Parts which distinguished the Republic of SPARTA, cannot be expected nor

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found

found in that of BRITAIN. For the first was the entire Work of a single Legislator, struck out at one Heat; all its Institutions conspiring to one End, and centering (like the Radii of a Circle) in one single Point: To This, the outward Form of Government, the internal State of Education, of Religion, Manners and Principles, were uniformly subordinate. But at the Time of the *Revolution*, which was the first Æra of BRITAIN'S Freedom, many prior Institutions and Establishments, both in Religion and Policy, Manners and Principles, had taken Place: These had been formed on the fortuitous Events of Time; and had resulted from a Variety of contending Parties; of *Power*, fluctuating at different Periods, between the *Kings*, the *Nobles*, the *Priesthood*, and the *People*. All these it was impossible for human Art to remove and new-model, without shaking the State to its Foundations: Hence, though the Form of the *British* Constitution, civil and religious, be of
unri-

unrivalled Excellence; yet in its very Birth it came attended with unalterable Weakness. — It wanted that general Self-Consistence, that entire Unity of Parts, as well as of established Habits, Manners and Principles, suited to the Genius of the State, which was the very Spirit and Support of the *Spartan* Commonwealth. In this Circumstance, it appears likewise inferior to the *Roman* Commonwealth; yet, perhaps, superior to that of *Athens*.

4. The *British* System of Polity and Religion, perfect in its leading Parts, but imperfectly united and supported, is not upheld in its native Power (like that of SPARTA) by correspondent and effectual Rules of Education. The Fundamental Laws of our Country, the Principles and Duties of Christianity, are indeed occasionally explained and taught, in a certain Manner and Degree: But it is in the Power of every Private Man to educate his Child, not only without a Reverence for These, but in an absolute Contempt of
of

of them. It is much in every Parent's Option, whether he will impress his Childrens Hearts with such Habits and Principles as accord to the Genius of the State, or with Impunity suffer them to contract such Manners and Opinions as tend to its Dissolution. A Circumstance pregnant with Danger to this free State: For hence, Manners and Principles, its chief Support, are liable to be incurably perverted in the Heart, at that Time of Life, in which alone they can be effectually impressed.

5. In the important Circumstance of "the Admission of *Change*," or the "Principle of *Adoption*," the *British* Constitution is contrary to That of SPARTA; and nearly on a Level with Those of ATHENS and ROME.—Foreign Commerce, foreign Travel, new Manners, new Principles, new Modes of Dress, of Amusement, of Luxury, are here adopted with a Degree of Avidity almost unbounded.—Happy would the Writer esteem his
La-

Labours; if this Principle, which in *some Respects* hath tended so much to the *Improvement* of his Country, could in any Degree be checked by his weak Admonitions, from *degenerating* into a *Cause* of its *Destruction*.

6. The last Circumstance of Note, here to be remarked, is "The Difference of Character among the several *Ranks* of the Community in these ancient free States, and That of *Britain*."

In Point of *Knowledge* and *Ability*, the Difference was great between the *Nobles* and the *People*, in these ancient States: In BRITAIN, the *Nobles* and the *People* (in their *legislative* Capacity) are fairly on a *Level*. When ALCIBIADES addressed the legislative Body of the *Athenian* People, he addressed *Coblers, Brasiers, Tanners, Tent-Makers*. When the People of ROME retired in Discontent to the sacred Mountain, they were appeased by the Fable of the *Belly, Head, and Hands*. A Lord of Parliament would make but a sorry Figure

gure, who should come armed with *such* an *Apologue*, for the *Conviction* of a *British House of Commons*.

Again: In each of these ancient Republics, the collective Body of the *People* were much of one uniform Character; being Inhabitants of the same City, and nearly on a Level with Respect to Employment and Property. In *ATHENS*, they were all *Artisans* or *Tradesmen*: In *SPARTA* and *ROME*, they were all *Soldiers*. A low Degree of Knowledge was their general Lot: For much Knowledge can only be acquired by much Leisure; which their Occupations did not allow. The People of *SPARTA* were intentionally virtuous: Those of *ATHENS* were corrupt: Those of *ROME* were of a mixed Character. As these free States voted not by Representatives, the Presence of the People was necessary, in all Decisions of a public Nature: Hence, such a People from their Ignorance, Wants, collective Presence, and Pride of Power, must ever and suddenly be
swayed

swayed by the Eloquence of public Demagogues.

But the *collective* Body of the People of BRITAIN are of a Nature and Character less uniform, and essentially different. They may properly be divided into two Classes; "The *People* of the " *Kingdom*;" and "the *Populace* of its " *Cities*."

The *Populace* of its *Cities* resemble Those of ATHENS in most Things; except only, that they are not possessed of the *legislative Power*. For the *People* of ATHENS were "a Body of *Labourers* and *Mechanics*, " who earned their Bread with the Sweat " of their Brows; too generally ignorant " and ill-educated; too generally profligate " in Manners, and void of Principle."

But the *People* of this *Kingdom*, in their *collective* Body, are upon the Whole, of a quite different Character. For under this Title are properly comprehended "all " Those who send Representatives for the " Counties to Parliament." This Catalogue will

will include the landed *Gentry*, the benefited Country *Clergy*, many of the more considerable *Merchants* and Men in *Trade*, the substantial and industrious *Freeholders* or *Yeomen*: A collective Body of Men, with all their incidental Failings, as *different* in Character from the *Populace* of any great *City*, as the *Air* of RICHMOND HILL from that of BILLINGSGATE or WAPPING.

S E C T. XI.

Of the general State of Manners and Principles, about the Time of the Revolution.

AT this famed Period, it is evident, that the Manners and Principles of the Nation did, upon the Whole, tend to the Establishment of *Liberty*; otherwise, *Liberty* had not been established. This Revolution was perhaps the noblest public *Reform* that ever was made in any State: And such a Reform, nothing but the *Prevalence*

valence of upright Manners and Principles could have effected.

The *religious Principle of Protestant Christianity* seems to have taken the Lead, even of the Love of civil Freedom. The Dread of *Popery* was, at least, equal to That of *arbitrary Power*: The national *Honour and Conscience* (on the whole) coincided with, and confirmed the *Christian Principle*: These three united Powers raised Liberty to the brightest Throne she ever sat on: A Throne which nothing but their *Contraries* can *shake*.

Yet notwithstanding the unrivaled Excellence of this civil and religious Establishment, there could be little Hope of its immediate and perfect Efficacy. Declaimers may express their Wonder, that a System so perfect should not at once attain its End: But they who take a nearer View of the Manners and Principles of those Times, will rather say, that the Tumults and Dissentions which instantly arose, were in their own Nature *inevitable*.

The Manners of the Times, tho' in the Main favourable to Liberty, were mixed with a gross Alloy of *private Licentiousness*: And hence, factious Measures of Course arose, from the Prospect of Power or Gain.* The preceding Age had caught a strong Tincture of *Vice*, from the prevalent Example of a debauched Court. The *Education* of Children was still left in an *imperfect* State: This great Revolution having confined itself to the Reform of *public* Institutions; without ascending to the first great Fountain of political Security, “the private and effectual Formation of the *infant* Mind.”

The *religious* Principle, though chiefly consonant with the new Constitution, and indeed its leading Support, was in *Part* at *Variance* with it.—A numerous Body of *Papists* held a whole System of Principles diametrically opposite to its most essential Dictates.—Another Body of Pro-

* See *Estimate*, V. [i. Part 2.

testant *Jacobites* were at War with the Principles of the State : For they held an hereditary and unalienable Right of Kings, founded on certain *mistaken* Passages of the sacred Scriptures.—A third Body of Men, though they allowed the Necessity and Justice of the Revolution, on the Principle of an *Abdication*, yet still retained an Opinion at Variance with the State : They asserted an *independent Hierarchy*, vindicated a religious *Intolerance*, and on some misconstrued Passages of Scripture, affirmed the Duty of a *passive Obedience* without Limitation.—A fourth Body was That of some bigoted *Dissenters*, who not content with a religious Toleration which had been justly granted them, aimed, on a mistaken Principle of Religion, to erect their own System upon the Ruins of the established Church.—All these Parties held *religious Principles* at Variance with the *Laws of Freedom*.

The Principle of *Honour*, tho' in many, and great Instances, co-operating with that of Religion; yet when not founded on it, was often at *Variance* with it. This Principle, as it hath appeared in modern Times, was in its Origin chiefly *Military*. Hence it hath generally taken Cognizance of Actions, not as they are *just* or *unjust*, but merely as they are *splendid* or *mean*, *brave* or *cowardly*: Thus, it overlooks all Laws, both human and divine: Hence unbounded Contempt of Enemies, furious Party-Rage, unlimited Resentment and Revenge, *were* and still *are* its favourite Dictates. Thus it hath come to pass, that Honour often forbids what Religion approves; and approves what Religion forbids. This uncontrouled and dangerous Principle mixed itself with the licentious Manners of the Times: Hence, Attachments, Resentments, and Party-Rage, arose and were persisted in, essentially contradictory to the Principles of Freedom.

Con-

Consonant with what hath been above delivered, the Principle of *Conscience* did not *correct*, but *followed* one or other of these various Principles, according to their Predominance and Power. And *These* being incurably discordant among themselves, the national Ideas of Right and Wrong, Just and Unjust, which were formed on *These*, could not but prove themselves of the like *motley* and *disagreeing* Complexion.

Here, then, we behold the natural and unavoidable Source of all the Dissentions that disgraced the Reigns of King WILLIAM and Queen ANNE. And while some affect to wonder, how so generous a System of Religion and Polity, so noble a Constitution in Church and State, could fail to produce private Virtue and public Happiness ; we now obtain an additional Proof of the irresistible Power of *pre-established Manners and Principles*, when at *Variance* with the *Laws of Freedom*: We may see, even to Demonstration, that

that the *Animosities* of *Those Times* were not incidental, but inevitable.

S E C T. XII.

Of the Changes in Manners and Principles, through the succeeding Times.

THE Accession of GEORGE the First seemed the *Æra* of perfect Freedom. And if an excellent King, at the Head of an unrivaled Constitution, could have secured Liberty; it had now been fixed on immoveable Foundations.

The Alloy of *licentious Manners* and *contradictory Principles* which had tarnished the preceding Reign, still maintained their Influence: But the declared and zealous Advocates for Liberty now assumed the Reins of Power, and began more effectually to combat those *false Principles* which were at *Enmity* with the *State*.

Would

Would to God, these intentional Friends of public Liberty had been as much the Friends of private Virtue and Religion! They would not, then, have undermined the Foundations, while they were building the Superstructure of civil Freedom.

The Seeds of Irreligion had for some Time been privately fermenting: But they did not break forth into open Growth till about this Period.—'Tis remarkable, that BURNET,* enumerating the Dangers by which the State was threatened in the Year 1708, makes no Mention of *Irreligion*, as an Evil worth being obviated. But soon after, this Pestilence came on, with a terrible Swiftnefs and Malignity.

The slavish Principle of absolute *Non-Resistance*, and an *independent Hierarchy*, were still prevalent in Part, especially among the *Clergy*. To combat *these*, and expose them to the public Contempt, certain Writers were encouraged by Those

* Conclusion of his History.

in Power. A vigorous and effectual Attack was made on the Advocates for Despotism. But in their Zeal against Tyranny, these Writers supplanted Freedom.

They assailed *Superstition* with such Weapons as destroyed *Religion*: They opposed *Intolerance* by Arguments and Ridicule which tended to sweep away all public *Establisments*: While they only aimed (perhaps) to contend for *Freedom* of *Thought*, they unwarily sapped the Foundation of all salutary *Principles*.*

CATO's *Letters*, and the *Independent Whig*, among many other Tracts of less Note, seem palpable Instances of this Truth: The one was written in Defence of *civil*, the other, of *religious* Liberty. Yet both tended, in their general Tour, to relax those Principles by which alone Freedom, either civil or religious, can be sustained: By their intemperate Insults on religious Institutions; by their public and

* See the Div. Leg. of Moses. Dedication Vol. ii. p. 6, &c.

avowed Contempt of all Opinions, Principles, (or, if you please) Prejudices, instilled into the infant Mind, as the necessary Regulators of human Conduct: By exalting unaided human Reason, far beyond the Rank she holds in Nature: By debasing all those Assistances which the Wisdom of Ages had prescribed and consecrated, as the necessary Means of correcting her vague and wandering Dictates.

While These Authors made this ill-judged, and perhaps undesigned Attack, on the Foundations of civil Liberty; others made a still bolder and more fatal Inroad; and opened a wider Door for *Licentiousness*, by an Attack on *Christianity* itself.

In this List of Enemies to their Country, it must be a Mortification to every Friend of Virtue and Liberty, to find the noble Author of the *Characteristics*. His Morals were unblemished, his Love of Virtue and Freedom indisputable: But by confounding two Things, which he saw *accidentally united*, though in their Nature

essentially distinguished, he polluted his *Arguments* against *Intolerance*, with the grossest *Buffoonries* on *Christianity*.

There is no Doubt, but that the current Reasonings of the Times had brought him to a Habit of Belief, that all This was harmless Pastime. To this Purpose he seems to speak himself. “ ’Tis certain, “ that in Matters of Learning and Philo- “ sophy, the Practice of *pulling down* is “ *pleasanter*, and affords more *Entertain- “ ment*, than that of *building* and *setting “ up*.—In the literate warring World, the “ *springing* of *Mines*, the *blowing up* of “ Towers, Bastions, and Ramparts of “ Philosophy, with *Systems*, *Hypotheses*, “ *Opinions*, and *Doctrines* into the Air, is “ a *Spectacle* of all other the most natu- “ rally *rejoicing*.*”

These intemperate Sallies of Gaiety may serve as a Comment on the Passage already cited from CATO’s *Letters*. They are a clear and concurrent Indication of the

* Miscell. iii. Chap. i.

ruling Principle of the Times ; when *Opinions* and *Doctrines* began to be derided as Things *indifferent*. The noble Writer was naturally led to embrace this growing Error of the Times, by a too flattering Opinion which he had imbibed concerning unassisted human Nature ; as being sufficient of itself to establish the unerring Practice of Virtue, unless beforehand sophisticated by servile Institutions.

The noble Writer, indeed, attempts a Vindication of this licentious Conduct, by an Appeal to the Practice of ancient GREECE and ROME. There, he tells us, “ *Philosophy* had a free Course, and was “ permitted as a *Balance* against *Super-* “ *stition*. And while some Sects, such as “ the *Pythagorean* and latter *Platonic*, “ joined in with the Superstition and “ Enthusiasm of the Times ; the EPICU- “ REAN, the *Academic*, and *others*, were “ allowed to use all the Force of *Wit* and “ *Raillery* against it.*”—This hath a plau-

* Letter on Enthusiasm.

sible Appearance: Yet I am perswaded, the noble Author would have looked grave, had he been put in Mind of the Remark which FABRICIUS made on the *Epicurean* Sect, “ that he wished *such Principles* to all the *Enemies* of *ROME*.*” Or had he recollected, that when the *irreligious* System of EPICURUS prevailed in GREECE and ROME, these *unprincipled* and *profligate* States were on the *Eve* of their *Destruction*.

Soon after the Author of the *Characteristics*, another more dissolute Writer appeared on the public Stage. I mean, the Author of “ *The Fable of the Bees*.” This Gentleman, as hath been observed above, leveled his Artillery on the whole Fabric of *Morals* and *Religion*. His System was diametrically opposite to that of Lord SHAFTESBURY: The one was founded on the *unaided Excellence*, the other on the *incurable Depravity* of *human Nature*. But now the vagrant Spirit of Irreligion

* See above, p. 76.

was Abroad; and the most inconsistent Productions were greedily swallowed, provided only they *disgraced* CHRISTIANITY.

The Avidity with which these Compositions were received, soon emboldened a succeeding Writer, to make a formal Attack on the Religion of his Country: *Christianity as old as the Creation* now appeared: In which the Gospel was grossly misrepresented, insulted, and disgraced; and in Compliance with the ruling Malady of the Times, that *poor* and *sickly* Creature, “unassisted *Human Reason*,” was vainly exalted to the *Throne* of ETERNAL TRUTH!

Other inferior Workmen in this patriot Amusement of blowing up the Religion of their Country, such as WOOLSTON, and MORGAN, I pass unnoticed.

In a succeeding Period, and down to the present Time, the Evil hath increased, and been compleated. For now, not only *revealed* but *natural* Religion hath been publicly attacked, in the Writings
of

of Lord BOLINGBROKE: An Author who stands convicted of designed Profligacy, even on his own Confession. “ Some “ Men there are, *the Pests of Society I “ think them*, who pretend a great Regard “ to Religion in general, but who take “ every Opportunity of declaiming publicly against that System of Religion, “ or at least that Church Establishment, “ which is received in BRITAIN.*”—You See, this patriot Writer proclaims his Abhorrence even of Those who assault the *Out-Works* of Religion: And then, with Modesty unparallel’d, proceeds to blow up the *Citadel*.

The last of these patriot Worthies, by which the present Age stands distinguished, is the Author of “ *Essays philosophical and moral:*” Who, disdaining the vulgar Practice of a particular Attack, *undermines* all the *Foundations of Religion, revealed and natural*; and with a Pen truly *Epicurean*, dissolves at once all

* Dissert. on Parties. Let. xii.

the *Fears* of the *Guilty*, the *Comforts* of the *Afflicted*, and the *Hopes* of the *Virtuous*.

Such, then, hath been the Progress of this public Evil; which hath proceeded almost without *Cognizance* from the Magistrate: Instead of *That*, it is well known, that some of these public Enemies of their Country and Mankind were formerly pensioned, and others privately encouraged by Those in Power. How This came to pass, and aggravated the growing Evil, it is now necessary to point out.

We have seen above, that a Foundation was laid for this, in an ill-conducted Opposition to the Enemies of Freedom. They who were employed to sweep away *false Principles*, imprudently struck at *all Principles*.

But beyond This, a famous Minister assumed, and long held the Reins of Power. There seems not the least Foundation for the Charge laid against him by his Enemies, "That his Design was to enslave his Country." Neither had he any
natural

natural Inclination to corrupt Practices: Yet he rather chose to rule by These, than to resign his Power. Nay, perhaps he thought this corrupt System the only one, which, under the Circumstances of Those Times, could support that illustrious Family, which was brought in, as the happy Support of Liberty. Farther, perhaps, he judged This the only possible Expedient for prolonging a *Peace*, which He thought *necessary*, till Time should wear out the false Principles, on which the expelled Family still held their Influence in the Minds of the People.— From *some* or *all* of these Motives, He not only *gave Way* to Corruption, but *encouraged* it. To this End, *Religion* was *discountenanced*: And *Christian Principle*, which would have been the firmest *Friend of Liberty*, was *discarded*, as the *Enemy of Corruption*.

In the mean Time, *Trade, Wealth, and Luxury* increased: These, in their *Extreme*, having an unalterable Tendency
to

to a Dissolution of Manners and Principles, went Hand in Hand with the Progress of Corruption; which, in its most improved State, this mistaken Minister left, as a lasting Legacy to his Country.*

The Effects of this established System of Corruption did not immediately appear: But about the Year fifty-seven, they came to their *Crisis*; advancing with the Appearances even of *public Ruin*.

That powerful Correctress, NECESSITY, gave a *temporary Union* to all Parties, and a *temporary Restoration* to the State.† But from the Deduction of Causes here given, it was natural to expect, that as soon as *Danger* ceased, *Faction* would arise.

It follows also, that it must arise on Foundations widely different from Those in the Reigns of WILLIAM and ANNE. For the Dissentions of these *past* Times were chiefly founded in *false Principles*:

* See an Estimate, &c. Vol. ii. p. 204, &c.

† See ib. Vol. i. p. the last.

Those of the *present* Age, on a *Want* of *Principle*.

For the false Principles which disgraced the Protestants of the last Age, are vanished. The mistaken Interpretations of Scripture, on which the *Jacobite*, the *Tory*, the *bigoted Dissenter*, founded their various Pretensions and Attempts, are *now* held in general Derision: A Preacher, of whatever religious Congregation, who should *now* advance these obsolete State-Heterodoxies, would be the Contempt of his wiser Audience.

Nay, what is more, these false Principles tending to Despotism, are generally banished, even from the Breasts of the Clergy; except only a very few of the most aged. For the Bishops being appointed by the Patrons of Liberty, have been such, as held Principles consistent with the Freedom of the State: And much Caution having been required of them, and used by them, in the Appointments of their Clergy, the general Complexion

plexion of this Body hath changed from That of being the *Enemies*, to That of being the *Friends* of Freedom.

Much it were to be wished, that along with the *Tares*, the *Wheat* had not also perished. But the general System of *Manners* being *relaxed* though *refined*;^{*} and *Education* still left more and more *imperfect*; the Principle of *Religion* being unhappily *destroyed* among certain Ranks, and *weakened* among *others*;[†]—That of *Honour* being thus left to its own *false* and *fantastic* Dictates;[‡]—and *Conscience* naturally following the *Whims* of its *untutored* Parent;—*Licentiousness* and *Faction*, founded on a *Want* of *Principle*, cannot but arise, and stand among the “*leading Characters* of the *present Times*.”

* See the Estimate, Part i. † Ib. ‡ Ib.

S E C T. XIII.

Among what Ranks, Licentiousness and Faction may most probably be expected.

THOUGH this Want of Principle must naturally infect every Rank of Men, in a certain Degree; yet some Ranks stand more exposed to it than others.

And, that we may give as little Offence as possible, while we speak the Truth; let it be observed, that all Orders of Men being born with an equal Tendency to Virtue or Vice; their adopting the One, or falling into the Other, depends chiefly on the Temptations to which their *Rank* exposes them.

Let us consider the Temptations to Licentiousness and Faction, to which the *leading Ranks* stand exposed.

Wealth and Power give Opportunities of Indulgence; Indulgence naturally inflames Appetite.—Flattery awakens contempt; and Contempt weakens the Fear
of

of Offence or Shame.—Laws which bind little Men, are often too weak for Great ones.—Leisure, when not dignify'd by suitable Accomplishments, ends in Idleness; and Idleness is the Parent and the Nurse of licentious Folly. To such Temptations do the *Great* stand exposed, in the important Article of *Manners*.

With Respect to the *Principle* of *Religion*, their present Situation is no less unfavourable. Dissolute Opinions flatter their disordered Passions: Nor will they ever want Sycophants, to present this alluring Bait to their Desires.—The Maxims of Irreligion are now so generally established among Those with whom the young Men of Fashion converse, that they must be peculiarly fortunate, if they escape the *Infection*. Wherever This Taint is given, the Principles of *Honour* and *Conscience* become vague and ineffectual, if considered as the Supports of Liberty. Certain *Delicacies* of *personal* Conduct they may produce; but can never rise to an
un-

unbiaſſed and ſteady Proſecution of the *public Welfare*.

Another Circumſtance unfavourable to the *public* Virtue of the higher Ranks preſents itſelf. Their Situation leads them to *expect*, and to *claim*, the great and *lucrative Offices* of the State. I need not *here* point out, how ſtrongly This tends to betray them into the Extremes of ſelfiſh Views, Ambition, Party-Rage, Licentiouſneſs, and Faction.*

Add to all theſe Conſiderations, their frequent and long-continued Meetings in the Capital: A Circumſtance which, from the powerful Effects of *free Communication*, cannot but inflame all theſe Cauſes of political Diſſention.

If we next examine the State of the *Populace* of the great Cities, we ſhall find that Their Situation naturally expoſes them to ſuch Temptations as lead to factious Conduct, when not early fortified by a virtuous Education. They

* See the Eſtimate, &c. Vol. i. Part 2.

are often urged by *Want* ; of which, *Discontent* and *Envy* are the inevitable Effects. They are let loose to every Impulse of Appetite, by frequent Opportunity and Secrecy of Action : They are tempted by wicked Examples ; inflamed by evil Communication and intoxicating Liquors : And though the industrious Mechanic may sometimes escape the Infection ; yet the Life of the *uninstructed Poor* in great Cities, is too commonly a horrid Compound of Riot and Distress, Rapacity and Thieving, Prostitution and Robbery, Wickedness and Despair.

Now if this Body of Men be indeed, what Candour itself cannot deny, “ too generally ignorant and ill-educated ; too generally profligate in Manners, and void of Principle ; ” it follows, that like “ the *Athenian Populace* of old, they must be liable to the *Seduction* of artful Men ; the ready *Tools* of every unprincipled *Leader*, who may choose to misguide them, to the Ends of *Licentiousness* and *Faction*. But

But “*The PEOPLE of GREAT BRITAIN*, as above distinguished,* are of “a Character essentially different from “both These. The landed *Gentry*, the “Country *Clergy*, the more considerable “*Merchants* and Men in Trade, the substantial and industrious *Freeholders* and “*Yeomen*,” possess a *middle* State of Life, which guards them from many of those Temptations that surround the *higher* and the *lower* Ranks. Their *imaginary* Wants are *fewer* than those of the *Great*: Their *real* Wants are *fewer* than those of the *Poor*: Hence Their Appetites are less inflamed to Evil.—Their Education generally secunds this happy Situation, in a certain Degree: Though imperfect, it is commonly more consistent with the main Outlines of public Law, than that of the superior or inferior Ranks.—Their Principles of Religion confirm this Education: They stand not generally exposed to the Infection of dissolute Opinions.

* See p. 87, 88.

Their

Their Sentiments of *Honour* and *Conscience* are most commonly built on the *Doctrines* of *Christianity*.—Their *Numbers* and their *Station* conspire to *exclude* them from a *general Claim* to the lucrative Offices of the State. Their *collective Knowledge* is of sufficient Reach to prevent their *general Seduction* to the Purposes of *Licentiousness*: Their *Dispersion*, and rural Life, prevent those continued and unrestrained Communications, which are alike fatal to private and public Virtue.

Let not the Writer be misunderstood. There are Examples of Integrity and Dishonour, of Virtue and Vice, among all Degrees of Men. He only points out the Circumstances which naturally tend, upon the Whole, to form the several Ranks into these distinct Characters.

From this View of the several Ranks, it follows, that although “The *People* of “this Kingdom” must inevitably partake of the various Manners and Principles of the *Great* and the *Populace*, with which

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they

they at Times communicate; though they be subject to the common Failings of Men, and to the *incidental* Inroads of Licentiousness from *higher* and *lower* Life;—yet upon the Whole, and considered as one *collective Body*, they stand comparatively clear of many Temptations to Vice; and therefore must naturally be least exposed to the Influence of *Licentiousness* and *Faction*.

One Consequence, arising from their *Dispersion*, must not pass unnoticed. It not only prevents the general Depravation of their Manners and Principles, but likewise prevents their *uniting* in large *Bodies*, upon all *slight* Occasions. Hence, though they are apt to *doubt*, nay to be *alarmed*, on the *factionous Clamours* of the *Capital*; yet they are not rowzed into *Action*, but on *singular* and *important* Emergencies.

To conclude: They are a *great*, but *quiescent* Power; on whose *collective Knowledge* and *Integrity*, the Freedom and Fate of this Nation must *finally* depend. In
the

the last Age, through the Influence of *false Principles*, pre-establiſhed or infused, they had well-nigh ſhaken the Foundations of Liberty:* In the preſent, *theſe* miſtaken Principles being *no more*, They are now “the firmeſt *Bulwark* of BRITAIN’S *Freedom*.”

S E C T. XIV.

Of the moſt effectual Means of detecting Licentiousneſs and Faction.

WHERE Faction is founded on *false Principles*, it is eaſily *detected*, becauſe it is generally *avowed*. It implies no moral *Depravity*, but only an *Error* of the Mind: And he who holds this *Error*, is not naturally *aſhamed* of it, becauſe he holds it as a *Truth*.

But where Faction is founded on *Licentiousneſs* and *Want* of Principle, it

* See above, p. 91.

cannot be so easily detected: For as it implies a moral Depravity, it will naturally attempt to *veil* itself; and to this End, will assume the *Garb* and *Appearance* of *Freedom*.

The favourite Subject of its Clamours will be the *Misconduct* of Those who *govern*. And in a Country where Liberty is justly ranked among the greatest national Blessings, the most plausible Pretence of Faction will be, “to load the “executive Power with the Charge of “Despotism.”

In every free State there will frequently occur certain Subjects and Measures, “of “*doubtful Expediency*.” These, in the wide Field of political Contention, may justly be stiled “the *debateable Grounds*.” On these doubtful Points, even the Friends of Liberty may sometimes differ: Therefore the Patrons of Faction will naturally lay hold on these, as the most successful and effectual Means of State Distraction: Because Thus they may hope to mingle
with,

with, and to pass for the Friends of Freedom.

When therefore such doubtful Measures become the Subject of political Contention; it may be difficult to determine, from the mere Circumstance of *Opinion*, *who* are the Friends of Liberty, and *who* the Abettors of Faction: Because, in these Points, there may be an incidental Difference of Opinion, even among the Friends of Liberty themselves.

A much surer Determination may be formed on the *Manner* and *Conduct* of the *dissenting Party*: For the Friend of Liberty, having no selfish Views, will be rational, honest, equitable, in the Prosecution of his Wishes. He who is actuated by the Spirit of Licentiousness and Faction, will be irrational, dishonest, iniquitous.

Let us, then, endeavour to particularize these distinctive *Marks* or *Characters*: Thus shall we best be able to determine, “*who* are the *Friends of Liberty*, and *who* “*the Abettors of Licentiousness and Faction.*”

S E C T.

S E C T. XV.

Of the Characteristic Marks of Liberty.

THESE which follow, are perhaps some of the clearest *Characteristics* of the Spirit of *Liberty*: By which the Friends of public Freedom, though dissentient from any Measure of Government, will be evidently distinguished.—*Each* of these Marks may seem *decisive*, even when *separately* viewed: But to do Justice to this Argument, it will be necessary to consider and *weigh* them in *Union*; because as they in Part *depend* on *each other*, they will *illustrate each other*, and at once *receive* and *give* additional *Confirmation*.

1. “The Friend of Liberty will endeavour to preserve that just Balance of divided Power, established by Law, for the Security of Freedom.”—Because the *public Welfare* is the leading Object of his Wishes; and can only be effectually ob-

obtained by the Preservation of such a Balance.

This will be the general Aim and End of the true Friend of Liberty: This *End* will be prosecuted by *suitable Means*; and its *Reality* will be *confirmed* and *illustrated* by these which follow.

2. "He will be attached to Measures, " without respecting Men."—Because the Passions and Interests of Individuals ought to yield to the public Weal.

3. "He will be generally self-consistent, " both in Speech and Action."—Because, the public Welfare being the uniform Object of his Pursuits, This can only be steadily and effectually promoted, on clear and uniform Principles.

4. "He will not attempt to inflame " an ignorant Populace against their legal " Governors."—Because an ignorant Populace are, in all Cases, unqualify'd to decide on the Measures of Government.

5. "His Debates, either in the Senate, " or from the Press, will be void of un-
" dis-

“distinguishing and injurious Imputations on any whole Bodies of Men, who may differ from him in Opinion.”—Because, Truth and the public Welfare being his desired End, he will clearly see, that *others* have the same Right of *approving*, as *Himself* hath of *disapproving*, the Measures of Government.

6. “He will not industriously and indiscriminately defame the private Characters of the Individuals who differ from him in Opinion.”—Because Calumny thrown on Individuals is a still more aggravated Crime, than That which is promiscuously aimed at Bodies of Men.

S E C T. XVI.

Of the first characteristic Mark of Licentiousness and Faction.

THOUGH we have seen, that the Patrons of Faction will attempt to mix and confound themselves with the Friends

Friends of Liberty ; yet, in Spite of their Pretences, they will be detected by the following characteristic Marks, which will stand in *clear Opposition* to Those of *Freedom*.

These, like the former, may seem sufficiently decisive, even when *separately* viewed : But to do Justice to this Argument, it will in the same Manner be necessary to *consider* and *weigh* them in *Union* : Because, as they in Part *depend* on *each other*, they will *illustrate each other*, and at once *receive* and *give* additional *Confirmation*.

1. “ The Leaders of Faction (being naturally of the higher Ranks*) would aim to establish an *aristocratic Power* ; and *enslave* both *Prince* and *People* to their own Avarice and Ambition.”

Thus, if any Set of Men had in *former* Times been in Power ; and while in Power, had oppressed embarrassed Ma-

* See above, Sect. xiii.

jeſty ; had threatened the Prince with a general Reſignation ; had thus intimidated him to their own Purpoſes ; had by theſe Means uſurped the *legal Prerogatives* of the *Crown* ; and apply'd them rather to the Support of their own *Influence*, than to the *public Welfare*:—

If the *legal Privileges* of the *People* had fared no better in their Hands:—If Theſe, too, had been ſwallowed up, in the great Gulph of ariftocratic Power:—If the Members of the lower Houſe, while they ſeemed to be the free Representatives of the People, had been in Truth, a great Part of them, no more than the *commiſſioned Deputies* of their *reſpective Chiefs*, whoſe Sentiments they declared, and whoſe Interests they purſued:—

If ſuch a Set of Men, as ſoon as they had loſt their Influence, ſhould now rail at the Privileges of the Crown, as the Engines of Deſpotiſm, though they had been formerly allowed by the Wiſdom of the State, as the occaſional Securities of Freedom:—

If

If they should now absurdly magnify and exalt the Privileges of the lower House, beyond the Limits prescribed by a free Constitution:—If their Pretence should be the Vindication of the People's Rights; while their real Motive was “the *Restoration* of their own *exorbitant* “ *Power*, founded on an *expected Majority* “ of their own *Dependents*:”—

If this Conduct was pursued by any Set of Men, they would stand convicted of a *clear Mark* of *Licentiousness* and *Faction*.

Such would be their main *End* or *Purpose*: And this *End* would be pursued by *suitable Means*: These Means, considered in *Union*, would still farther confirm and illustrate the End they aimed at: And these Means would be such as follow.

S E C T. XVII.

A second Mark of Licentiousness and Faction.

“THE Patrons of Faction would be
“ attached to Men, to the Neglect
“ of Measures.”

If the same Men, when formerly in Power, should have obstinately adhered to each other in every public Debate and Opinion ; should have execrated every Man, as the Enemy of his Country, who dissented even in the slightest Article of political Belief:—

If on any sudden Change in the Fountain of Power, a more generous System of Government should have taken Place:—If the *Sovereign* had aimed to unite all *honest Men* of all *Parties*, and had invited them to co-operate for the Welfare of their Country:—

If these Men, determined still to engross all public Power, should threaten the *Sovereign* (as they had effectually
threa-

threatened his royal Predecessor) with a general Resignation:—

If their Leaders should be taken at their Word, and unexpectedly stripped of all Power and Influence:—

If on This, the Clamours of their attendant Populace should arise;* and for the Sake of the public Tranquillity, Overtures should be made by the Prince to the Discontented:—If the *same Principle* should still predominate, and *Demands* in Favour of *Men* should be the *leading Object of Accommodation*:—

If these Demands should be not only irrational in their Kind, but exorbitant and oppressive in their Degree; requiring a *general Restoration* of All the Discontented, and a *general Dismission* of all who were in Power, tho' of known Fidelity to their King and Country:—

If such should be the Conduct of any Set of Men, they would stand evidently convicted of Licentiousness and Faction.

* See Sect. xix.]

S E C T. XVIII.

A third Mark of Licentiousness and Faction.

“THE Patrons of Faction would be
“ *self-contradictory and inconsistent*, not
“ *only on different*, but on *parallel Oc-*
“ *casions.*”

Thus, if the *Exercise* of a *Privilege* should be quietly *allowed* to one Officer of State, and by the *same Persons* should be *clamoured against* in his *Suc-*
cessor: The Persons thus *acquiescing* and
clamouring by Turns, would stand con-
victed of a *self-contradictory and inconsistent*
Conduct: And without deciding on the
Propriety or Impropriety of the Privilege
in Question, would carry upon them a
clear Mark of Licentiousness and Faction.

Again, if a certain Mode of political
Influence on Dependents was generally ex-
ercised among all the Ranks of a free
Country:—If the same Persons already
cha-

characterized, should *now condemn* This as a *despotic Measure* in the *Servants* of the *Crown*, which They themselves *formerly* exercised when in *Power*, and still *continue* to exercise towards their *private Dependents*:—These Gentlemen would betray a very notable Inconsistence in their Conduct: And therefore, without any Decision on the *Rectitude* of such a general *Practice*, would stand convicted of an undeniable Mark of Licentiousness and Faction.

S E C T. XIX.

A fourth Mark of Licentiousness and Faction.

“THE Patrons of Faction would endeavour to delude and inflame an ignorant and licentious Populace against their legal Governors.”

A blind and unprincipled Populace have ever been the most effectual Engines of Sedition: And above all, Those of the
Capital,

Capital, being near to the grand Scene of political Contention, must ever be a ready and dangerous Engine in the Hands of Licentiousness and Faction.

But in a Nation like this, to make the *Populace* of the *Capital* a more successful Instrument of Sedition, a Degree of Art would be necessary. For it appears above, that the *People* of this *Kingdom*, and the *Populace* of its *Cities*, are of a Character essentially *opposite* to each other: That the *one* is collectively *knowing* and *upright*; the *other*, collectively *ignorant* and *immoral*.*—The first Step, therefore, that *Faction* would take, as the surest Method for Success, would be to *confound* the *one* with the *other*; and dignify “the *Clamour* of “the *Populace*,” by styling it “*the VOICE of the PEOPLE*.”

The Fury of such a *Populace*, thus awakened by Vanity, Vice, and Ignorance, would arise in a Variety of Shapes.

* See above, Sect. xiii.

If an Order of the Senate should be given for the Burning of a *Paper* legally declared seditious; such a *Populace* would be incited to rescue it from the Fire: And they who had thus incited them would boast, that it was rescued by the Hands of “*the PEOPLE.*”

Every talking Demagogue, who should oppose the Measures of Government, would be artfully and indiscriminately obtruded on such an ignorant *Populace*, as a *Patriot* or a *Heroe*. And They who had thus obtruded him would boast, that he was the *Favourite* of “*the PEOPLE.*”

Every distinguished Friend to the Measures of Government would be artfully obtruded on such a *Populace*, as the Enemy of his Country: And They who had thus obtruded him would boast, that he was the *Detestation* of “*the PEOPLE.*”

Every Act of the Legislature, which contradicted the Passions or partial Interests of such a *Populace* or their *Leaders*, would be branded by them, as arbitrary

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and oppressive: And they would boast, that it was branded by the *Voice* of “*the PEOPLE.*”

If daily or periodical Papers of Intelligence were circulated from the Capital through the Nation, and These were open to the Admission of every Thing which private Pique, Passion, or Interest, might suggest; they would of Course become the general Repositories of popular Slander: And as *Malice* is always more eager to *accuse*, than injured *Innocence* to *defend*, these Slanders would often seem to *preponderate* in the public Ear: And hence, would be boasted by Those who raised them, as the prevailing *Voice* of “*the PEOPLE.*”

Thus, *hatched* by *Licentiousness*, FACCION would attain to its *enormous Growth*: The *unprincipled* among the *Great* would form the *Head*, the *unprincipled* among the *Populace* would form the *Body*, of this *rapacious Monster*.

SECT.

SECTION XX.

A fifth Mark of Licentiousness and Faction.

“THE Abettors of Faction would
 “ throw injurious and undistinguishing
 “ Imputations on every Body of Men
 “ who differed from them in Opinion.”

Having thus gained an ignorant and
 licentious Populace, as the Trumpets of
 Sedition; the Patrons of Faction would
 leave no Means untry'd to load their
 Adversaries with the most envenomed
 Calumny.

Thus if any mistaken Principle had
 formerly been maintained, but was now
 generally forsaken and derided; a Fac-
 tion could not be detected by any clearer
 Mark, than by its Attempt to conjure
 up the Ghost of this *departed* Principle,
 in order to alarm and terrify not only
 the *Populace*, but the PEOPLE.

If on This Pretence, any Men should attempt to revive Animosities which Time had bury'd;—should attempt to divide and distract the Subjects of an *united* Kingdom, whose *common Welfare* depended on their *Union*;—should revile all Men without Distinction, who were born in a *certain District*; and indiscriminately endeavour to exclude them from a Participation of those public Trusts, Honours, and Emoluments, to which, with the rest of their Fellow-Subjects, they might stand intitled by their *Capacity* or *Virtue*:—Who would not discover, in this *unequal Conduct*, a clear and distinctive Mark of Licentiousness and Faction?

Again: If ever there had been a Time, when All who presumed to *dissent* in any Degree from those in Power, were indiscriminately and unjustly branded with the Name of *Jacobite* or *Tory*;—and if These very Men who had bestowed such Appellations should *now* deal them as freely round, on All who *assent* to Those
in

in Power:—This were surely a clear Indication, that the Spirit of Faction were abroad.

But if, in the Course of political Revolutions, some of these Men's *former Adherents* should *now* be their *Adversaries*; and some *former Adversaries* should *now* be their *Adherents*; another *characteristic* Circumstance would arise: For Those whom they had once *reviled*, they would now *applaud*, as being the *Friends of Liberty*; and Those whom they had formerly *applauded*, they would now *revile*, as having become *Jacobites* or *Tories*.—Such a Conduct, and such *Names* thus *arbitrarily imposed*, however speciously coloured over by the *Pretence* and *Cry of Liberty*, might seem to stand, with all impartial Judges, as a clear *Mark of Licentiousness* and *Faction*.

The Views of such Men would be still more apparent, should they insinuate, that the *Prince* received Those very Men as his Ministers and Favourites, whose Principles
tended

tended to the *Subversion* of his *Throne* and *Family*. This Insinuation, indeed, would not so much merit *Detestation*, as *Contempt* and *Ridicule*.

S E C T. XXI.

A sixth Mark of Licentiousness and Faction.

“THE Abettors and Instruments of
“ Faction would promiscuously cal-
“ lumniate the private Characters of the
“ principal Individuals of the opposing
“ Party.”

It was the just Observation of an ancient Writer, that “ the Wicked is an
“ Abomination to the Righteous, and the
“ Righteous an Abomination to the Wicked.”—Yet the Measures which these two
Parties take, in their Treatment of each other, are essentially different.—The *good*
Man never maliciously *stabs* the *Reputation* of his Neighbour: The *wicked* Man,

on

on the contrary, delights in this *most practicable*, but *most atrocious* of all *Mischiefs*.—Invenomed Hints, ambiguous Imputations, private Crimes darkly alledged, but void of all Foundation:—These are the deadly Weapons of the abandoned but cunning Defamer.

Here then is a secure and ample Field for every profligate Minister of Faction: Here “he tosseth about Arrows, Firebrands, and Death; and cries, am I not in Sport?”

If a Prince, whose Words and Actions might justly be given, as an Example of Integrity to all his Subjects, should be ambiguously accused of such Things as his Honour would abhor:—

If such a Prince should be indirectly charged with Ignorance, for not distinguishing in a Point of Law, which even some of the ablest Lawyers in his Kingdom had not attended to:—

If neither the Virtues nor the Condescension of a Queen could protect her
from

from the Insults of Those whom she had never injured:—

If any other Branch of a royal Family should be basely traduced, by the grossest and most audacious Calumnies, studiously contrived to inflame an ignorant and unbridled Populace:—

If the Servants of the Crown, and Members of the Legislature, who had legally exerted themselves in Defence of their injured Sovereign, should in their private Character be impudently vilify'd, misrepresented, and abused; and even their unoffending Families traduced with study'd and unexampled Virulence:—

If neither Age nor Virtue should be a Security against the Arrows of public Calumny:—If a MAN of the most distinguished Worth in private Life, a known and zealous Friend of public Liberty, one of the Ornaments of his Age and Country, should be overwhelmed by a Load of the most unprovoked and malicious Slander; merely because he had dared to assert

assert his own Right of private Judgment, in Opposition to the Opinion of another:—

If these Outrages should be publicly committed by *some*; and winked at, or countenanced, or patronized by *others*;—surely, all honest Men ought to joyn, in declaring their Abhorrence of such atrocious Acts of Licentiousness and Faction, perpetrated in Defiance of All *Laws*, both *human* and *divine*.

S E C T. XXII.

Some Objections obviated.

SHOULD it be objected to the Writer, that while he blames the Practice in others, He indiscriminately characterizeth whole Bodies of Men who dissent from public Measures; he would reply, that the Accusation is groundless: For he hath expressly distinguished Those who *dissent* on *Principles* of *Liberty*, from such as

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dissent on Motives of Licentiousness and Faction.

Should it be objected, that he hath attacked even *private* Characters, in the Way of indirect Description: This Accusation would be equally ill-founded. For all personal Peculiarities are avoided, save only the single Facts alluded to, as the Proofs of his Allegations: These were essentially necessary for the Support of the Argument; and relate not to *private* Life, but to *public* and *political* Conduct.

Should it be objected, that he hath indirectly censured Those, whose Conduct he had formerly applauded: He replies, that he never was attached to *Men*, but *Measures*.

Should it be objected, that some of these characteristic Marks may seem to involve Men of good Morals in private Life: He would reply, that the Affections of *good* Men in *private* Life may not *always* extend to the *Public*.

Should

Should it be objected, that some of these characteristic Marks may seem to involve Men, who have been eminently serviceable to their Country in public Stations: He would reply, that He ever hath been, and ever will be proud to do Justice to Merit, when exercised in any public Station.

Should it be objected, that he questions the Conduct of Those only who are now out of Power: He would reply, that he formerly questioned their Conduct with the same Freedom, when in the Fulness of their Power: And that his Reasons in both Instances were the same; because in both Instances he judged their general Conduct to be *essentially* ill-founded, narrow, selfish, reprehensible.

S E C T. XXIII.

Of the most effectual Means of checking the Growth of Licentiousness and Faction.

THUS the Writer hath endeavoured to lay open the Foundations and Characters of Licentiousness and Faction: He now proceeds to consider the most effectual Means of checking them in their Progress; of restoring internal Unanimity; and securing public Freedom.

In every national Malady of this Nature, there are two Kinds of Remedies essentially distinct: The one is palliative, and temporary; the other is radical, and lasting.

The palliative Remedies ought to be first apply'd; because it will appear, that they are the only Means by which we can come at Those which are radical.

'Tis evident, then, that the first Advance towards a Cure of this national
Evil

Evil must arise from the steady Conduct of the Prince. For Faction, unopposed, and led on by the higher Ranks, will never cease in its Demands, till it terminates in the Possession of an unbounded aristocratic Power: This is a Power, which nothing but the Courage and Steadiness of the Prince can possibly contend with: Because the final Object of such a Faction will always be, “Those high and lucrative Offices of State, which are in *His* sole *Disposal*.”

If a Sovereign once gives Way to the Storms in which such a Faction will involve him, his Peace and Freedom, together with Those of his People, are inevitably destroyed. On the contrary, if amidst all the Tumults of Sedition, he discovers an unalterable Firmness and Fortitude, founded in upright Intentions and real Virtue; the Rage of hopeless Faction will by Degrees subside; and a Prospect of better Times will open upon *Him* and his *People*. This general Truth *might* be

be *commented* on: But at present, the Writer can with Satisfaction leave it to the impartial *Public*, to find a *more instructive* and LIVING COMMENT.

S E C T. XXIV.

Of a second Remedy.

THE next Remedy, which can effectually aid the Firmness of the Prince, must be the Steadiness of the Minister, in discouraging, as far as in him lies, the Inroads of *Venality* and *Corruption*.

This is a large Topic, and fitter for a Book than a Section: However, what is most essential to the present Subject may be briefly touched on.

A plausible Objection, then, is here to be obviated: For a late Writer hath very calmly and systematically attempted to prove the universal and unconditional Necessity of political Corruption, in all free Governments.*

* See a free Inquiry into the Nature and Origin of Evil, Let. v.

What

What follows is the Foundation of his Argument. “All human Government is
 “the Offspring of Violence and Corruption;
 “tion; and must inherit the Imperfection
 “of both its Parents.*” “All Govern-
 “ments must be administered by the same
 “Violence and Corruption, to which they
 “are indebted for their Origin.†” “Cor-
 “ruption (*therefore*) must always increase
 “in due Proportion to the Decrease of ar-
 “bitrary Power; since where there is less
 “Power to command Obedience, there
 “must be more Bribery to purchase it;
 “or there can be no Government carry’d
 “on at all.‡”

Such is the Sum of this Gentleman’s Argument: To which, the following Observations are offered, as a Reply.

There have been two different Pictures given of *Man*, by different Writers, diametrically opposite to each other. By some, the human Species hath been re-

* Origin of Evil, p. 128. † Ib, p. 129.

‡ Ib. p. 135.

presented as a natural Society of Angels; by others, as a Crew of Devils. Both these Representations have arisen from a partial View of Mankind: One Party regarding his *social* Qualities only; the other overlooking These, and fixing on the Appetites which are commonly called the *selfish*.

Were Mankind of the first of these Characters, they would need no Law: Were they of the latter, no Law could unite or bind them. The Truth is, they are a Mixture of Both. As they have the several Modes of Self-Love, for the Preservation of the Individual; so, by *proper Culture*, they gain Habits of Benevolence, Religion, social Prudence, the Love of honest Reputation, and sometimes even a Regard for the general Welfare of the Society to which they belong. As these social Passions and Regards are strong or weak, frequent or uncommon; the Character of a Nation is good or bad, honest or corrupt, upright or profligate.

A Variety of Proofs hath been given of these different Degrees of moral Character, in the preceding Parts of this Essay.*

But that we may not seem to build on a Principle which this Author admits not, we hear him virtually declaring all This himself in another Part of his Book. "Here *He (Man)* has an Opportunity "given him of *improving* or *debasing* his "Nature, in such a Manner as to render "himself *fit* for a Rank of *higher Per-* "section and Happiness ; or to *degrade* "himself to a State of *greater Imperfec-* "tion and Misery.†" Again, he speaks of a *Reformation of Manners*, as a Thing *practicable* : And recommends it, as the only Remedy for political Evil.‡

But while he treats of the absolute *Necessity* of political Corruption, all the *better Part* of *Man* is *hid* ; his *Imperfections* and *Vices* alone are *set in View*. During the Progress of this Argument, if it deserves that

* See above, Sect. vii, &c.

† Origin of Evil, p. 93. ‡ Ib. 149.

Name, we hear of nothing but “such
 “imperfect and *vicious* Creatures as *Men*,
 “*tyrannizing* over *others* as imperfect and
 “*vicious* as themselves:” We have no-
 thing presented to us, but “Pride, Ava-
 “rice, and Cruelty on one Side ; Envy,
 “Ignorance, and Obstinacy on the other ;
 “Injustice and Self-Interest on both.†”
 In a Word, Mankind are represented as
 an *abandoned* and *incurable* Race, ut-
 terly *void* of all *good* Qualities ; and such
 as “must be always bribed or beat into
 “Obedience.‡”

Here, then, this Maxim of the absolute
 and unconditional Necessity of Political
 Corruption appears in all its Nakedness
 and Deformity : For it is founded on
 “the supposed incurable Wickedness of
 “Man:” An Error too glaring to need a
 Confutation ; and which there is still the
 less Occasion to confute, because this Au-
 thor himself admits the contrary.

* Origin of Evil, p. 126. † *Ib.* ‡ *Ib.* p. 130.

It follows then, that his leading Proposition is as false in itself, as it is pernicious to Society, that “Corruption must always increase in due Proportion to the Decrease of arbitrary Power:” Because Virtue and Religion, upright Manners and Principles, properly instilled, may much better supply Corruption’s Place.*

On this Foundation, therefore, it appears, that every upright Minister ought, as far as possible, to check the Progress of Corruption: And tho’ at Times he may be embarrassed, and under a *po-*

* Were it necessary to pursue this Gentleman through all the Windings of his political Labyrinth, and trace him to the End of his Course, where he suddenly starts up in the Form of a severe Moralist; there could not, perhaps, be exhibited a more striking Instance of Self-Contradiction, in the whole Compass of literary Debate.— At present I shall only remark, that this Essay was published in the Year 1757, at a Time when the System of political Corruption much needed some Kind of Apology, because its fatal Effects began to glaze too strongly upon the Nation to be longer doubted. Hence, though we should not inquire “*who* the Author is,” we may give a *sbrewd Guefs*, “what *political School* he “was *bred* in.”

litical Necessity of yielding; 'tis clearly both his Duty and his Interest to oppose this dangerous and encroaching Spirit, in the leading Outlines of his public Conduct.

It is his Duty; both because Corruption can only flourish on the Ruins of Virtue and Religion, good Morals and Principles, without which public Liberty is essentially destroy'd; and because Corruption tends inevitably and invariably to weaken the public Administration of Government, by filling every high Department with the Venal, the Ignorant, the Selfish, the Dishonest.*

It is both his Duty and Interest; because *Licentiousness*, and its Attendants, *Venality* and *Faction*, are of an *insatiable* Appetite. The more the Venal are fed, they grow more importunate: If you gorge one of These to the full, and thus lay him to sleep; ten will rise in his Place, every one more clamorous than the first.

* See Estimate, Part ii.

The Minister, therefore, both in Consideration of his own Peace, and the public Welfare, ought as far as possible, to obviate this Evil in its *Beginnings*; fortify *Himself*, as well as the *State*, with the *Honest*, the *Firm*, and the *Capable*; resist, to the utmost, the exorbitant Demands of *Venality*: Thus *Faction* will either *bark* itself *asleep*; or *die despairing*.

S E C T. XXV.

Of some concomitant Remedies.

LET us now consider, what might be in the Power of the *Legislature* and the *Magistrate* immediately to effect.

1. 'Tis generally acknowledged, that Power naturally follows Property. Therefore exorbitant Property in Individuals must always be unfavourable to civil Liberty; must always tend to produce Licentiousness and Faction; because it throws
 exor-

exorbitant Power into the Hands of Individuals: And the greater the *Inequality* between the *Poor* and *Rich*, the more the *one* will ever be under the *Influence* of the *other*.

It should seem, then, to be the particular Interest even of the most Wealthy, if they be the real Friends of Liberty, —'tis certainly the general Interest of a free Community; that some legal Limitation of Property should take Place. I speak not of the Probability, but the Expediency of such a Measure.

2. It follows, that some *Regulation* in Respect to *Boroughs* would be of great Importance. For in Boroughs, contrary to all sound Policy, “Power is lodged “without annexed Property.” The natural Consequence is, that “this ill-placed “Power will be seized by Those who are “possessed of exorbitant Property.” Thus Power settles on its natural Foundation: But a Foundation, in this Instance, most dangerous to Freedom; as it leads to the

Ef-

Establishment of an Aristocracy. In This Instance, too, I speak not of the Probability, but the Expediency of the Measure.

3. The Limitation of extended Conquest and Empire might seem an Object worthy the Attention of the highest Powers.—ROME perished by its Avidity of unbounded Empire. Colonies, when peopled beyond a certain Degree, become a Burthen to the Mother Country: They exhaust her Numbers; they distract her Attention; they divide her compacted Strength. Such Extent of Colonies, as may be necessary to maintain the Empire of the Seas, will always be a just Object of *British* Regard. More than this, sound Policy perhaps could hardly dictate.

4. This Limitation is of more Importance, as it would naturally set Bounds to another Excess: I mean, That of Trade and Wealth. This, the Writer knows, is of all other Topics the most unpopular: Notwithstanding which, he presumes to persist in what appears to Him a demonstrative

strative Truth, that “ exorbitant Trade and “ Wealth are most dangerous to private “ Virtue and therefore to public Free- “ dom.” The Topic is too large, to be here insisted on. He therefore refers to what he hath already written on this Subject ;* which hath been much clamoured against, indeed ; but never confuted.†

* See Estimate, Part iii. *passim*.

† For the Conviction of Those who chuse rather to attend to *present* than *future* Consequences, the following Circumstance may deserve Notice. Much hath been said “ on the Cause of the present exorbitant “ Price of Provisions, and general Distress of the Poor :” Every Cause hath been assigned except the true one, which seems to be “ the sinking Value of Money, arising “ necessarily from the exorbitant Increase of Trade and “ Wealth.” If this be so, it follows, that the Evil is incurable, excepting only by a general Augmentation of the Wages of the Poor.—Now This, which is the necessary Effect of the Exorbitancy of Commerce, naturally tends (by the increased Price of Manufactures) to the Destruction of Commerce. If the Exorbitancy of Trade should still run higher, this Evil will be aggravated in Proportion. The Consequences which must follow, are such as the Writer chuseth not to enlarge on ; because he knows, the Spirit of the Times would not bear it.

5. The immediate Care of upright Manners and Principles might seem an Object worthy the strictest Attention both of the Legislature and Magistrate.

To this End, if the growing Spirit of *Novelty* and *Adoption* could by any Means be checked, it would be a Work attended with the most salutary Consequences. The Writer would not willingly be thought chimerically to adopt all the Rigours of the *Spartan* State: But could wish to see a Law enacted, parallel to That of LACEDÆMON, by which their raw and unexperienced Youth were prohibited from bringing Home the new Follies and Vices of foreign Countries, picked up in a premature and too early Travel.*

He would by no Means discourage the *Freedom* of the *Press*: Yet, sure, its *Licentiousness* might seem an Object of the Magistrate's Regard. The Search of Truth is good: But to search for This in the

* See Estimate, Vol. ii. Part i. Sect. 10.

Hoard of *Irreligion*, is like searching for *Hope* in PANDORA'S *Box* ; where the sole Reward of Industry can only be *Pestilence*, *Despair* and *Death*. National Virtue never was maintained, but by national Religion : He, therefore, who shakes the essential Principles of Religion, undermines the Virtue of his Fellow-Subjects ; and therefore deserves to feel the Rigour of the Law, as a determined *Enemy* of his *Country*.—This may seem a practicable Remedy : But how to destroy those irreligious Writings, which already lie exposed on Stalls and Counters, or deposited in private Libraries, like so many Heaps of Poison, for the Gratification of Vice, and the Destruction of Virtue :—Or how to pluck from the Minds of Men those poisoned Arrows, which these Authors have already planted there !—That were a *Task indeed* !—The Shaft is already flown ; and cannot be recalled : And this Nation, thro' succeeding Times will have Cause to say,—
“ *Hæret Lateri lethalis Arundo.*”

Immoral

Immoral Writings should seem no less the Object of the Magistrate's Attention. Tho' These may not shake the *Principles*, yet they inevitably corrupt the *Manners* of a Nation.

Personal Defamation, or Calumny thrown on *private* Characters, is another Evil, which seems rising at present with unheard-of Aggravations. Two *flagrant* Instances of This Enormity the Writer will pass unnoticed, lest he should seem to insult over the *Exiled* or the *Dead*.*

* In these two Kinds of modern Profligacy, *immoral Writings*, and *personal Calumny*, there is one professed Author, now said to be living in this Kingdom with Impunity; who, in a better policed State would ere this have felt the full Weight of that public Punishment and Infamy which is due to an Enemy of Mankind. This Man, supposed to be one C——, first writ a Volume of execrable *Memoirs*, for the Corruption of Youth and Innocence: Since That, a *Reverie*, or *Dream*, which *Hunger* and *Malice* probably conspired to suggest; replete with the most impudent Falsehoods, and injurious Calumnies on Individuals, for the Entertainment of *base* and *envious* Minds.

S E C T. XXVI.

Of the chief and essential Remedy.

A LL these may be regarded as temporary and concomitant Supports of Freedom: But the chief and essential Remedy to Licentiousness and Faction, the fundamental Means of the lasting and secure Establishment of civil Liberty, can only "lie in a general and prescribed Improvement of the Laws of Education."

We have seen above, that upright Manners and Principles are the only Basis of true Liberty; that the infant Mind, if left to its own untutored Dictates, inevitably wanders into such Follies and Vices, as tend to the Destruction of itself and others. We have seen, that the early and continued Culture of the Heart can alone produce such upright Manners and Principles, as are necessary to check and subdue the selfish Passions of the Soul; and that Li-
berty

berty can only arise from a general Subordination of These, to the public Welfare. We have seen these Truths confirmed, by an Appeal to the State of three famed Republics, which by Turns *arose* and *fell*, on the very Principles here delivered. We have seen the Defects, as well as Excellencies, of our own public Constitution, both *civil* and *religious*: That its Form is excellent and unrivaled; but that the practical *Application* of this unrivaled Excellence is attended with Defects incurable: That it hath all along been inevitably counterworked by Manners and Principles discordant with its Genius, and discordant with each other: That for Want of a prescribed Code of Education, to which all the Members of the Community should legally submit, the Manners and Principles on which alone the State can rest, are ineffectually instilled, are vague, fluctuating, and self-contradictory.

Nothing, then, is more evident, than that some Reform in this great Point, is
neces-

neceſſary, for the Security of public Freedom. Till this be effected, in Spite of all temporary Remedies, Licentiousneſs and Faction, tho' checked for a Time, will ever be gathering new Strength, and returning to the Charge with redoubled Fury.

This Reform, to ſome, may appear eaſy to effect: By others it will be derided, as wholly impracticable. Perhaps the Truth may lie between theſe two Opinions: To throw the Manners and Principles of a Nation into any new Channel, is certainly a Work of no ſmall Difficulty.—On the other Hand, we ſeem to have many Materials lying round us, ready to be converted into the Means of this great Work. A pure and rational Religion; a generous System of Policy, founded on that Religion; Manners, tho' apparently degenerating, yet by no Means generally profligate; much true Religion, Integrity, and Honour among the *middle* Ranks; many Inſtances of *domeſtic Worth* among the *higher*; and in Spite of the
Tempta-

Temptations that furround the *Great*, true *Piety*, and the *moral Virtues* adorning the *most exalted Station*.

Therefore, without dreaming of the perfect Republic of PLATO;—and fairly acknowledging the incurable Defect of our political State, in not having a correspondent and adequate Code of Education inwrought into its first Effence;—we may yet hope, that in a secondary and inferior Degree, something of this Kind may be still *inlaid*: It cannot have that perfect Efficacy, as if it had been originally *of the Piece*: Yet, if well conducted, it may strengthen the weak Parts; and *alleviate* Defects, though not completely *remove* them.

Among *what Ranks*, in the Writer's Opinion, these *Defects* in *Education* chiefly *lie*, may be sufficiently collected from some of the preceding Sections. But as to the most *effectual Methods* of *relieving* these *Defects*, he pretends not at present to attempt so great a Subject.

This,

This, however, he is well perswaded of; that till something of the Kind be attempted and performed; all the laboured Harangues that can be given from the *Bench*, the *Pulpit*, or the *Press*, will be of little Avail: They may tend *occasionally* to *obviate* some of the *Evils* of *Licentiousness*; but never can *radically* cure them.

S E C T. XXVII.

The Conclusion.

THESE Remedies, however *just* in their *Nature*, can only be *effectual* through a proper Application: And this can only lie “in a zealous and unfeigned
“Union of the *Honest* among all *Ranks*
“and *Parties*, for the *Accomplishment* of
“these *Ends*, against the *Patrons* and
“Instruments of *Licentiousness* and *Fac-*
“tion.”

This

This Union, at first View, seems of such a Nature as could hardly need to be enforced : Yet it is frequently retarded by several Circumstances.

Among the *Great*, this rational Union is often counteracted by the Ties of false Honour ; a dangerous Principle, which we have already noted, as being productive of Party-Rage and Faction.* This Principle, even in honest Minds, will sometimes prevail over the Dictates of Religion and private Virtue. On this false Foundation, political Connexions are often maintained, in Defiance of a just Sense of public Utility : While the unhappy Man who acts on this mistaken Motive, is inwardly rent by two contrary and contending Powers. Severe Moralists may perhaps discard such a Character from the List of the *Honest* : But it should seem, that he is rather an Object of Clemency than Indignation. Remove but the unhappy Prejudice from his Breast ;

* See above, p. 92.

And such a Character would press forward among the first, towards the *Goal of public Virtue*.

Again: This rational and salutary Union may be retarded by Connexions of *Friendship, Gratitude, or Blood*. This Cause tends to confirm and extend the Influence of the former. *Fathers, powerful Friends, and Patrons*, connect themselves with Parties, and cleave to them on a mistaken Principle: *Sons, obliged Friends, and Dependents*, are naturally enlisted in their Party; and are rivetted in it, not only by *false Honour*, but *Education, Gratitude, Affection*. How peculiarly unfortunate is this Circumstance; that the *generous Passions* should ever become the *Adversaries of public Virtue*!

The same false Attachment to Friends, Patrons, and Relations, naturally prevails, in a certain Proportion, among the middle Ranks of the Kingdom. Their Interests, Passions, and Prejudices, are not so immediately concerned as Those of the higher Ranks; and therefore 'tis natural
to

to suppose, that their mutual Attachments of mistaken Honour or private Affection, will upon the Whole be more moderate and less culpable. Yet still, while these false Attachments are prevalent among the *Great*, the *People* must in some Degree catch the Infection, from the various Relations which they bear to their Superiors. Hence untractable Prejudices arise, and are maintained: While *Measures* are less regarded, than the *Party* which adopts them.

But besides This, another Circumstance ariseth, which inevitably tends to *disunite*, and *distract* the *Honest* among the *People*; even when their personal Attachments are conquered by their Integrity. Their *Dispersion* in the Country hath already been remarked, as a Circumstance worthy of Attention. Here it meets us again, as a Cause of their frequent *Disunion*. We have seen how naturally (under the present State of Things) every factious Clamour that riseth in the Capital, is transmitted with aggravated Circumstances, through the

whole Kingdom.* And the People of the Villages being easy of Belief, because not suspecting the abandoned Profligacy of these *Town-Defamers*, are apt to receive every insinuated *personal Slander*, as a *Truth*. These Calumnies being seldom contradicted by the injured Party, take Root in the Minds of the less knowing. Hence Doubts arise; Surmises and Dislikes are spread; Facts, though void of all Foundation, are alledged and persisted in; the more credulous Part are misled: Thus an honest People are divided; and not only a *Province* or a *Village*, but even an *House* often set at Variance within itself.

These Contentions *sometimes* arise to a Degree which is ridiculous: And have formerly been so described *without Exception*, by the Tools of Faction. Notwithstanding This, every Friend of Liberty ought to grieve, if a *free*, an *honest*, and a *sensible* PEOPLE should ever desist (were it possi-

* See above, Sect. xix, p. 130.

ble) to debate on Affairs of Government. Tho' they may be occasionally alarmed and misled on slight Occasions, yet their mature and collective Judgment on important Subjects, will *seldom* be *erroneous*. On this Foundation, MONTESQUIEU's Remark is solid: "Tell me not, that such
 "a People will sometimes *reason ill*:" 'Tis sufficient, "that *they reason*.*"

The Guilt and ill Consequences, then, arise from the malevolent Clamours of the Capital, transmitted thence to the Provinces. These Clamours, though not of Power to seduce an *honest* PEOPLE into actual Sedition, are yet often sufficient to *alarm* and *divide* them.†

Much Caution, therefore, ought to be used by the Inhabitants of the *Country*, how they give Credit to the *political* Rumours of the *Town*; which are seldom spread without Design; and are in general spread most industriously by the Malevolent. They who act on good Prin-

* L'Esprit des Loix.

† See above, Sect. xiii. p. 114.

ciples, are apt to trust to the native Force of Truth : The Patrons of Falshood are conscious of a Defect *here* ; and therefore endeavour to supply it by a misapply'd Diligence and Cunning.

One Mark of Licentiousness and Faction is peculiarly applicable to these Clamours from the Metropolis : If they are fraught with *personal Calumny*, and attack private Characters, they assuredly come from the *Enemies of Virtue and Freedom*.

All These, therefore, a *sensible* and *honest* PEOPLE will learn to *suspect* and *deride*. This Foundation once laid, they will not be far from a *general Union* against the *hidden Designs* of *Licentiousness* and *Faction*.

In Conclusion, therefore, let the *Honest* among every *Rank* and *Party* recollect ; that their first and highest Obligations are to God, their King, and Country. That every *subordinate* Connexion ought to *yield* to *These* : That true *Honour* can never be at *Variance* with the Laws of *Religion* and
Virtue :

Virtue: That if any *Desertion* be *shameful*, it is the *Desertion* from *Truth* and the *Welfare* of their *Country*: If any *Attachment* be *honourable*, it is an impartial *Attachment* to the *public Weal*, unbiaſſed by private *Affections* and *Regards*. If any *Acknowledgment* be the certain *Mark* of a *great* and *ingenuous* *Mind*, it is the *Acknowledgment* of *its own Errors*, or thoſe of a *Patron*, *Friend*, or *Anceſtor*.

Theſe Remarks the Writer ſubmits to the *Impartiality* and *Candor* of his *Countrymen*; deſiring that they may be regarded as his *Mite*, thrown in towards the *Accompliſhment* of the *Sovereign's Wiſh*, on his *Acceſſion* to the *Throne*; that of “ found-
“ ing the *Liberty* and *Happineſs* of this
“ *Kingdom* on the ſolid *Baſis* of *Religion*
“ and *Virtue*, and uniting ALL HONEST
“ MEN in the ſteady *Proſecution* of this
“ great *Purpoſe*.

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